THE ALTERNATIVE

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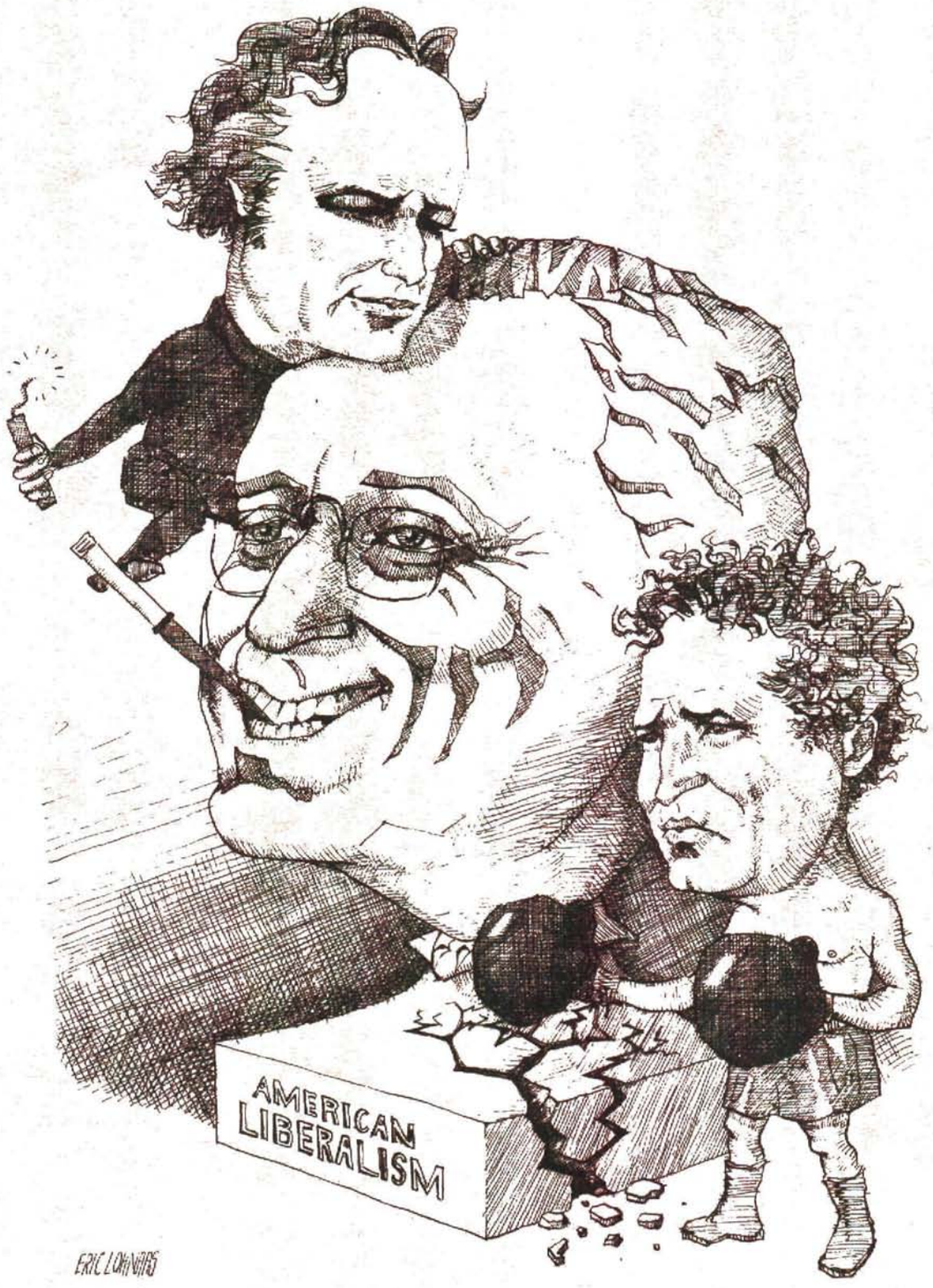

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THE ALTERNATIVE: TO BARE THE WITNESS AND THE TRUTH

Published remarkably without regard to race, color, creed, or (most redundantly of all) national origin.

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Publisher, Anthony L. Campaigne of the Saturday Evening Club
Managing Editor, Baron Von Kannon
Circulation Manager, Ronald E. Burr
Senior Editors, William Kristol
John Kelley □ Rev. George Nathan
Associates, Jameson G. Campaigne, Jr.
John R. Coyne, Jr. □ Jefferson Davis
C. H. Simonds □ Roger D. Tyrrell
Contributors, John Avey □ Paul Bernstein
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Art, Eric Lohnaas □ Sharon E. Rogers
Sandy Weeder

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Editorials

Campaign '70

Hee haw! Hee haw! The 1970 political campaigns are at the morgue there to be drained, stuffed and sent off for entombment in the cemeteries of Great American History. You could tell they had expired when the atmospheric pollution indices fell to normal, and the distinguished chairman of the Democracy, Larry F. O'Brien, appeared bathed in sweat before the cameras of CBS. Breathing heavily, his bulbous head lit up like an inebriate's nose, his nervous eyes rolling about like raw squid under glass, he delivered this historic asseveration: "This is a great victory for the Democrats. Americans have renounced what I call (cleverly, one must admit) the politics of fear." What a knee slapper! When decocted of its extravagance this statement means that Americans were not seized with fear when Republicans warned that America was approaching the sad fate of Sodom and Gomorrah, nor did they panic when it was suggested that SDS had stockpiled a nuclear arsenal; rather they stampeded when Mr. O'Brien's scholars whispered into their ears that Mr. Nixon was leading the nation towards Hoover Prosperity. Even for Mr. O'Brien this is a pretty vacant truth.

In America politics has always served up an enormously generous banquet of twaddle, and fun-loving citizens follow it with the scrutiny a sorority girl accords her first outbreak of wrinkles, though never with the same consternation. Americans follow politics for many of the

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The Continuing Crisis

Amid cries that the nation was being torn even more widely apart the off-year election was held on 3 November. A surprising spirit of amity followed the election as both sides claimed a smashing victory.

Earlier in the crisis Dr. Victor Ohta, the famed California eye surgeon, and his family were murdered for, according to the murder note, "misus(ing) the natural environment and spoil(ing) same." The Hon. John Gardner, ex-secretary of HEW, formed an organization called Common Concern, a "citizens' lobby."

An unmistakable sign of the pervasive influence of the Middle Americano was manifest when Miss Angela Davis-- the glamorous black militant, communist and instructor at UCLA--was arrested by FBI agents in a Howard Johnson's Motel. From obsure beginnings she had risen to the FBI's "most wanted" list in connection with a political unpleasantness in California. Mr. Nixon pronounced her arrest "a warning to those who engage in these (violent) acts that they are eventually going to be apprehended." On 14 October bombs renovated Harvard's Center for International Affairs and shortly thereafter disturbed two government office buildings, two churches and a home in Rochester and a New York courthouse. As the result of a recent assassination attempt on President Milton Obote of Uganda, a bill was introduced into the Kampala National Assembly prescribing life imprisonment for anyone throwing an egg at the president. Anyone pointing a gun--even an empty gun--at the president would automatically be dispatched to the happy hunting grounds. Six days prior to the election California students registered their profound displeasure with Mr. Nixon's Vietnam policy or university policy or for "misusing the environment" or something by jostling him and pelting his car with eggs and small bricks.

Signs of economic revival appeared when it was reported that Americans drank more alcoholic beverages last year than the year before, averaging 1.80 gallons per capita as opposed to 1.73 gallons the year before. Julie Nixon Eisenhower spent a night at George Washington Hospital after undergoing tests to find the cause of a chronic urinary tract infection. A White House spokesman described the situation as "nothing really serious." Prime Minister Trudeau announced that Canada and Red China would exchange ambassadors within six months. Maoist French separatists kidnapped and murdered a Quebec Province Cabinet member. Trudeau invoked the War Measures Act and in response to liberals' criticism execrated them as "weak-kneed bleeding hearts."

The Scranton Commission Report on Campus Unrest disappeared beneath an avalanche of criticism from all sides. It was reported that the Commission initially spent far more money than had been appropriated and half of the Commission's money had to be borrowed from mental health funds; the rest from the education office.

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THE ALTERNATIVE - December, 1970

A Note to Mr. Nixon

Wick Allison

A few years ago America was hit with a remarkable phenomenon: the arrival of the Pepsi Generation. The event was rather low-key at first. Oh, some people grumbled about the sudden emergence of hippies and a few college deans were interrupted in the middle of their busywork. But, looking back, it was of relatively little interest, at most a mild diversion from the depressing news of Vietnam, inflation, high interest rates and George Wallace. Then simultaneously two people -- one Tom Hayden and the other anonymous editor -- had the same idea: "**Hey this could be a big deal.**" Tom Hayden went on to Chicago with his mischievous thoughts. **Life** magazine went on the newstands with its New Image. And pow!

This sketch is simple, but we will leave the details to be worked out by social historians and NBC commentators (no, make that CBS...no, maybe ABC... no...forget it). The point is, what was once merely another addition to America's always-fascinating social scene became overnight a potent influence on her entire culture and especially on the heart of her culture, her politics.

Does this seem outlandishly obvious? Unfortunately, some people still do not recognize it, and most of those people keep regular office hours next to the White House in the Executive Office Building. They make up the Nixon Administration, and in their personal dealings and political actions they have revealed a total lack of any understanding of the young in an era when the activities of the young are of considerable concern to their national constituency. (The Vice President is excluded from this blanket indictment: he has shown a growing perception of where it's all at, so to speak.) It is a startling fact that supposedly politically sensitive men in politically sensitive positions could be so inept at dealing with one of the most politically explosive issues of our time.

To gain an understanding of the recent blunders (e.g., the Scranton Commission) it is important to consider two characteristics of the Nixon White House which have severely damaged its ability to effectively cope with the young.

First, it has never been able to judge the dimensions of the youth movement accurately. Almost a year ago Congressman Bill Steiger (R. Wis.) appealed urgently to the White House to follow up on the Brock Report, a carefully written tightly-worded message to the President from twenty-two Republican congressmen concerning campus unrest. Of particular concern to Steiger was the Administration's delay in implementing one urgent proposal, the establishment of an impartial panel of leading citizens to make a dispassionate and objective investigation of campus problems. Steiger was politely snubbed, and the Brock proposal was ignored. Following the Cambodian operation, when a wave of demonstrations swept the country (reviving the moribund anti-war effort) appeals were again made to the White House, only to be met with the comment that "it'll all blow over in a few days." Instead, it blew up. **Then** - when the nation was in upheaval and the press was in a frenzy - **then** the President's advisers decided to act. Day after day we, the public, were treated to pictures of Dr. Alexander Heard talking with the President, of Governor William Scranton, of Joe Rhodes, of Dr. James Cheek, etc. Because the President's closest advisers had not been watching the pot, when it boiled over they turned to people who seemed to know what had happened (sure, they knew - some of those guys had helped to light the fire).

Second, the Administration has shown a remarkable incapacity for making distinctions when dealing with young people. A change in style has occurred in this country which has affected hair length, clothing, speech and other facets of life. It is simply a fad, but it is identified politically with The Other Side. Yet the change hasn't reached the White House; at any bar in Georgetown you can pick out the typical White House aide: closely cropped hair, horn-rimmed glasses, dark pin-striped suit, narrow tie (circa 1960), button down collar and - most importantly - white shirt. A swell guy who can - on demand - recite the last fifteen years' major league baseball scores or a wide-eyed radical who can repeat by rote America's failures to provide for the blacks, the oppressed, the poor, and the young; it doesn't matter, as long as one **looks** the part of a member of the Nixon team. This **modus operandi** has caused interesting complications. Case in point: Joe Rhodes of Harvard is a carefully attired, clean cut young black with an impressive academic record. To men who fail to go beyond these pleasantries to examine the substance of what a man thinks, he was a perfect choice for an appointment to the Scranton Commission. Until he accused Mr. Nixon of making speeches which were "killing people." Ah, if life and politics were only so simple! (I must admit at this point that I recently heard a convincing argument that while advisers like John Ehrlichman and Bob Haldeman had made honest mistakes because of closed minds (which could be opened) and lack of experience (which could be gained), others such as Leonard Garment have shown an inclination toward bringing less-than-loyal youngsters into the Administration; it's an interesting thought which seems in accord with Mr. Garment's previous record.)

The most publicized results of these major defects in the Administration's policy have been the Scranton Commission and the White House Conference on Youth. The first was a total disaster which the White house tried to undermine during the last weeks of its existence. The naive way in which it was chosen has been described above and just about everyone disagrees with its findings. Even as a staff member for the Commission I can add very little which has not been previously written, except to say that it was a rare opportunity to watch Administration fumbling from a front row seat.

The Conference on Youth is a division of the White House Conference on Children and Youth scheduled to be held 28 February -- 2 March 1971. All indications point toward another disaster, although some remedial steps have been taken. The Conference's main problems now are (1) it is incompetently managed (Steven Hess, overall Conference chairman, recently had to bring in outside auditors to tell him where all the money had gone), and (2) instead of making a serious effort to bring young people back to the moderate fold, it is merely following along in a wild attempt to find out where everybody is going. Through the Conference the Administration should have subtly attempted to re-establish ties with its younger constituency. But because the Palace Guard really doesn't care about the problem they have left matters in the hands of Hess and youth director Ray Hanslik, which means that the Conference will probably evolve into another embarrassment for Republicans and more hot copy for the **Washington Post.**

Despite my complaints, the situation is not hopeless. In the short time left -- politically speaking -- before the 1972 elections the Administration could, if it is willing, recoup its massive losses on the youth front. With that in mind, I present my own humble suggestions, a sort of open letter of advice to the President of the United States and his friends:

1. One Republican senatorial candidate concisely made a very intelligent point in a private note to Ehrlichman: "something needs to be done." An excellent piece of advice. The first step, of course, would be to recognize the depth and urgency of the youth question and to commit the Administration to resolving it.

2. One person should be given the

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responsibility and authority for dealing with the youth problem in every area of Administration activity. Currently it is impossible to untangle the confused lines of authority in the White House; it has become one of the world's great buck-passing arenas. No one has decision-making power in this vital area except the President, and according to the newspapers he has other matters on his mind.

3. The President's advisers should stop their useless preaching about working class youth. Young laborers are not the problem, it's the students - most of whom are still willing to listen to what the Administration says if only its statements were properly packaged. At a recent planning session of the White House Conference on Youth near San Clemente, Ehrlichman rather harshly told one female student who was objecting to certain Nixon policies that she did not represent anyone and that he knew more about young people than she. Since she had not brought up either point she was abashed. While one may sympathize with Mr. Ehrlichman's frustrations, this is hardly an effective manner of conversion.

4. There are moderate student leaders in this country who, though upset about their universities and some governmental policies, are quite willing to work quietly and efficiently to help the Administration bridge the widening gap with the young. For example, Ron McCoy, former national chairman of Youth for Nixon, knows the problems of university reform: as student body president he is engaged in a hum-dinger of a battle with the administration at Arizona State University. Or David Keene of the University of Wisconsin who is well-versed on the radicalization of this generation and methods of retarding its progress. Or Doug Hallet, editorial chairman of the Yale **Daily News**. Or Lon Williams, past president of the student body at Southern Methodist University. Or Jim Sandler, chairman of the university activities center at the University of Michigan. The list could go on and on: there are literally hundreds of responsible young people whom the Administration could call upon. But, watch it, none of them would fall into tight little specifications and none of them have short hair.

5. Finally, the Administration, in order to hold on to those young people still loyal to it but dangerously close to giving up, should start fulfilling its campaign promises. Remember those? This may be a personal gripe, but despite cheerful reports on Vietnam, the White House has still not made a wholehearted attempt to eliminate the draft, a promise which was the cornerstone of the youth platform in the 1970 elections. What's holding it up? The President says he is for it, Senator Goldwater says he is for it, and Senator McGovern says he is for it. Surely little ol' John Stennis can't hold back a combination like that. By its own failure to act on such a major issue -- **the** issue for young men -- the Administration is reducing the likelihood of maintaining the sizeable youth backing it received in the last election.

The manifestations of "alienation" on the part of our nation's "brightest young people" (ar-r-gh!) will doubtless continue to be heralded by the press until something else comes along that catches their fancy. But there are signs now that even the Pepsi Generation is getting a little tired of its more bombastic cohorts and turned-on sympathizers. The time is ripe for a well-orchestrated move on the part of the nation's political leaders to restore a generation to its country.

If the Administration decides again that it just ain't all that important, we might as well hand everything over to **Life**. I'm sure they'd figure a way to make it into a delightfully fresh and **youthful** cover story. □

Wick Allison graduated from the University of Texas in 1969. He worked on the Scranton Commission and is presently a free-lance writer residing in Washington, D.C.

Delectations

Vermillion (with two ll's), South Dakota

John R. Coyne, Jr.

South Dakota calls itself "the land of infinite variety," and no place in the state better epitomizes this variousness than *Vermillion. Vermillion is easy to find,* lying as it does half-way between Elk Point and Yankton, about eight miles off Route 29, the main road between Sioux City, Iowa, home of the nation's ninth largest stockyard, and Mitchell, South Dakota, famous for the Mitchell Corn Palace, a structure constructed entirely of corn cobs.

Vermillion's three major motels, The Wigwam, the Tomahawk, and the Prairie, adequately serve the unfortunately limited tourist trade. Of these, the Prairie is perhaps the best, for it offers not only a striking view of corn fields but also a fine restaurant and bar which adjoin a twelve-lane bowling alley. Here the traveler sinks deep into a narrow corafoam chair, sips his Grain Belt beer, and watches through a plate-glass partition the fierce competitions among members of the local bowling leagues. The Prairie epitomizes that quality South Dakotans call "class," a term admittedly hard to pin down but which might be defined as that sophisticated but lighthearted spirit which led the managers of the Prairie to paint the words "Bulls" and "Heifers" on the restroom doors.

Another establishment with class is the Charcoal Lounge in the heart of downtown Vermillion. Like the Prairie it is frequented by faculty from the University of South Dakota and young executives from the J. C. Penney Store and the Alf-Alfa Plant, and like the Prairie it serves hearty meals of well-done beef and, to the delight of the gourmet, salads prepared in the great midwestern fashion, delectable combinations of cottage cheese, bananas, jello, canned fruit salad, shredded coconut, pineapple and whipped marshmallow. But the greatest single attraction of the Charcoal Lounge is Ronnie, the only bartender in the midwest with a gouty big toe. Ronnie can spin many a good yarn about his affliction, and if you ask about it, stranger or not, he will regale you with stories far into the night. ("See? I had to cut this here hole in my best shoes," Ronnie will say, hoisting his foot up onto the bar and wiggling the fabled toe.)

But, as seasoned travelers know, one wishes not only to frequent those places with class, for by so doing one fails to meet the "real people," for Vermillion is most compact, consisting as it does of about million than in most tourist spots to meet the "real people", for Vermillion is most compact, consisting as it does of about thirty weatherbeaten, dirty, old buildings facing one another across Main Street. And it is just across from the Charcoal Lounge, on the south side of Main Street, that one encounters the "real people" at play.

The best place to get to know the natives is Hogan's, a quaint old tavern with a utilitarian bar, an enormous plank dance floor, some old wooden tables, and a juke box which boasts one of the best collections of Ernest Tubb records in the world. The mood is simple and heartwarming at Hogan's, where farmers, truck drivers, drunken agency Indians, and the boys from the alf-alfa plant congregate nightly. The talk is boisterous but good-humored: "I seen who YOU was with last night." "Hee-haw," they shout, and slap their legs and stamp their feet. "You never!" The stranger need feel no apprehension, for he is soon made a part of the fun: "What the hell YOU looking at, Dude?" "Hee-haw." "How'd you like a good stompin?"

Ladies are treated chivalrously at Hogan's ("There's that Ellie that works up to the diner. I'd like to get me some of that."), and the proprietor, a diminutive man whose solemn demeanor cloaks a fun-loving nature ("Old Squint would murder his mother for a nickel"), delights in serving up lady-like drinks, the favorite being Seagram's and Dr. Pepper. The men, most of them traditionalists, prefer the customary shot and beer, although on festive occasions they will order coke-highs (bourbon and Coca-Cola).

Hogan's doesn't specialize in **haute cuisine**, as do the Prairie and the Charcoal Lounge, but one can always enjoy a tasty, pre-cooked, cellophane-wrapped ham and cheese sandwich which Old Squint expertly heats in a small aluminum oven. And the Beer Nuts at Hogan's are justly famous. "Gimme some of them there Beer Nuts, you miserable old bastard," the jocular cry rings out nightly.

The numerous other attractions of Vermillion are too various to detail here: the public library, which contains a complete collection of the novels of Frank Yerby and autographed first editions of the works of Badger Clark, South Dakota's

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Poet Laureate; and the handsome new building of the Wesley Foundation on the USD campus, where on Sundays one can enjoy tea with Preem, peanut-butter cookies, and good, clean conversation. The movie theater in Vermillion regularly reruns the best of the Doris Day films, and occasionally there is an old Jane Withers or Judy Canova for the connoisseur. And don't think that the electronic revolution has by-passed South Dakota. McLuhan himself would be impressed with the impact of radio station WNAX in Yankton on the area. The wizardry of radio keeps Vermillion residents informed of exciting local news stories (one of the most gripping of these recently recounted how a farmer from Sweat lost his life when his head was caught in the power takeoff of his John Deere tractor) as well as of more important national news, such as the daily reports of hog prices from the Chicago Livestock Auctions. WNAX also carries a wealth of educational and cultural programs, such as Lifeline and The Singing Lady.

And finally, no description of Vermillion would be complete without an appreciation of the scenery it offers. Perhaps most striking of all is the view of the small brown hills of Nebraska that can be injoyed from a bluff on the west edge of town. (For the convenience of the nature lover, the city has thoughtfully placed a green bench atop the bluff. One should sit with caution, however, for the bench has been there a long time and nature's erosive processes have sharply heightened the danger of splinters.) There are times, admittedly, when the prospect is somewhat obscured by smoke belching from the alf-alfa plant which nestles in a gulch just below the bluff. In fact, the traveler might be well advised at such times to remove himself quickly, for to the uninitiated the smell of burning alf-alfa may prove unpleasant and may even cause mild gasping and choking.

Nevertheless, stenches aside, Vermillion, South Dakota, should definitely rate a visit by that traveler through "the land of infinite variety" who possesses sophisticated sensibilities and an appreciation of the exotic and colorful. □

John R. Coyne, Jr. is an associate editor of NATIONAL REVIEW and chief of McSorleys' Anti-Feminist Patrol. His first book THE KUMQUAT STATEMENT has recently been published by Cowles.

The Assault on ROTC

Are We Trying to Stop the War Machine by Getting Rid of the Brakes?

Ward Elliott

Most people accept the need for an officer training program which puts educated people in leadership positions. Other things equal, most of us would rather have leaders like Ronald Ridenhour (who brought the My Lai massacre to public attention) than leaders like William Calley and Ernest Medina, principal participants at My Lai. Ridenhour had had two years of college, while Calley had flunked out of Palm Beach Junior College in his first year and Medina had not made it past high school. Most of us would prefer having more educated persons calling the shots; nevertheless, there is strong pressure on most campuses, and very strong pressure on the most prestigious campuses, to get rid of ROTC, which is the mainstay of our efforts to procure educated army officers. Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth and Columbia, among others, have already dropped ROTC, and it is under heavy attack in all but a handful of campuses where it exists. The argument for dropping ROTC runs something like this: "Of course we need educated officers, but do we have to train them here? Would it not be more democratic if everyone got their commissions at an off-campus Officer Candidate School (OCS)? Would it not be more in keeping with the untrammeled search for truth to get those flags and uniforms out of our groves?"

In practical terms, the answer to these questions is no. ROTC answers to the special needs of a country which sends the top third of its young people to college (v. five percent for England, France and Germany, ten percent for the USSR) and has long feared and avoided a large professional army. Most other countries do not send a broad spectrum of their youth to college. They have no ROTC but rely exclusively on promotion from the ranks, OCS and service academies. France, Germany and most of the underdeveloped countries have followed this pattern; so have Russia, England, Switzerland and Israel. The last three have never had a large standing army; Russia has always had one but controlled it with a dispotic central government. France and Germany have had large standing armies, as we do today, but they have also had unhappy histories of military interference with the processes of civil government. The First, Second, Third and Fourth French Republics succumbed to men on horseback; from the time of Frederick the Great to the time of Hitler's Germany, foreign and domestic policy was dominated by the Army General Staff and the Junkers. The prevalence of military government in the underdeveloped world is well-known. There is very little evidence today to challenge C. Wright Mills' observation that military control in history has been far more the rule than the exception.

The United States has been one of the few exceptions to this rule for many years, for two reasons: we have not until recently had a large standing army, and we have heavily relied on non-professional soldiers for our larger military undertakings. Today, however, we have a large standing army, and there is strong sentiment in the best schools for professionalizing the army by abolishing ROTC, the draft and the war, or at least by getting rid of ROTC, since we do not directly control the draft and the war. Why do people feel this way? Surely not because they want a professional army per se. Most of us would prefer an army of non-professionals as long as we non-professionals need have nothing to do with it.

The saving clause for this apparent contradiction is the false belief that off-campus training could be a viable substitute for ROTC in this country. This is not likely. Army ROTC puts out better officers than OCS, and it is much cheaper to run. OCS is geared to produce small-unit leaders in the combat arms. It draws in people like William Calley and Ernest Medina, who know how to fight but cannot handle intellectual challenges beyond the high school level. It teaches them rudimentary military skills and discipline, and sends them out to be given a platoon, at a cost of $12,000 apiece. ROTC develops a much better range of talent--perhaps because the colleges have succeeded in cornering most of the talent--and the army has acknowledged that no source of officers compares with ROTC in the quality of lieutenants produced. A recent study comparing ROTC scholarship winners with West Point cadets, on the basis of high school class rank, membership in national honor societies and holding of class office and varsity letters, indicated that the overall achievement of the ROTC cadets was notably higher than that of the West Point cadets. Of seventy-one recently appointed brigadier generals, thirty-four were ROTC graduates, eighteen West Point and nineteen OCS, National Guard, or direct appointees. ROTC is the only one of the four sources of officers which sends its graduates directly into staff and management branches. ROTC lieutenants cost $5,000 apiece to train. The country is not soon going to scrap a system that produces well-educated and capable officers for $5,000 in favor of a system which produces officers of limited talents for $12,000.

The next step down from the OCS option, which is attractive neither to students nor the army, is a replicated ROTC handy to campus, but not on it. This option should satisfy no one. It would continue the "undemocratic" special treatment for college students so odious to most opponents of ROTC, but without the control, the concern, nor the protection of the colleges. The army would face the choice between buying and building new facilities at prohibitive cost or using existing off-campus facilities, such as reserve training centers, which would place prohibitive commuting burdens on the modest number of students hardy enough to take ROTC in the first place. The nearest army reserve armory is usually accessible only to the few students who have cars.

The "just off-campus" option is unpalatable for the army, unpalatable for the cadets, palatable only to those who want to get rid of ROTC altogether, because the "just off-campus" option is merely a devious way to drop ROTC altogether without admitting it.

If the prestige schools insist on off-campus training, the army will not redesign its off-campus options to make them more attractive to students from

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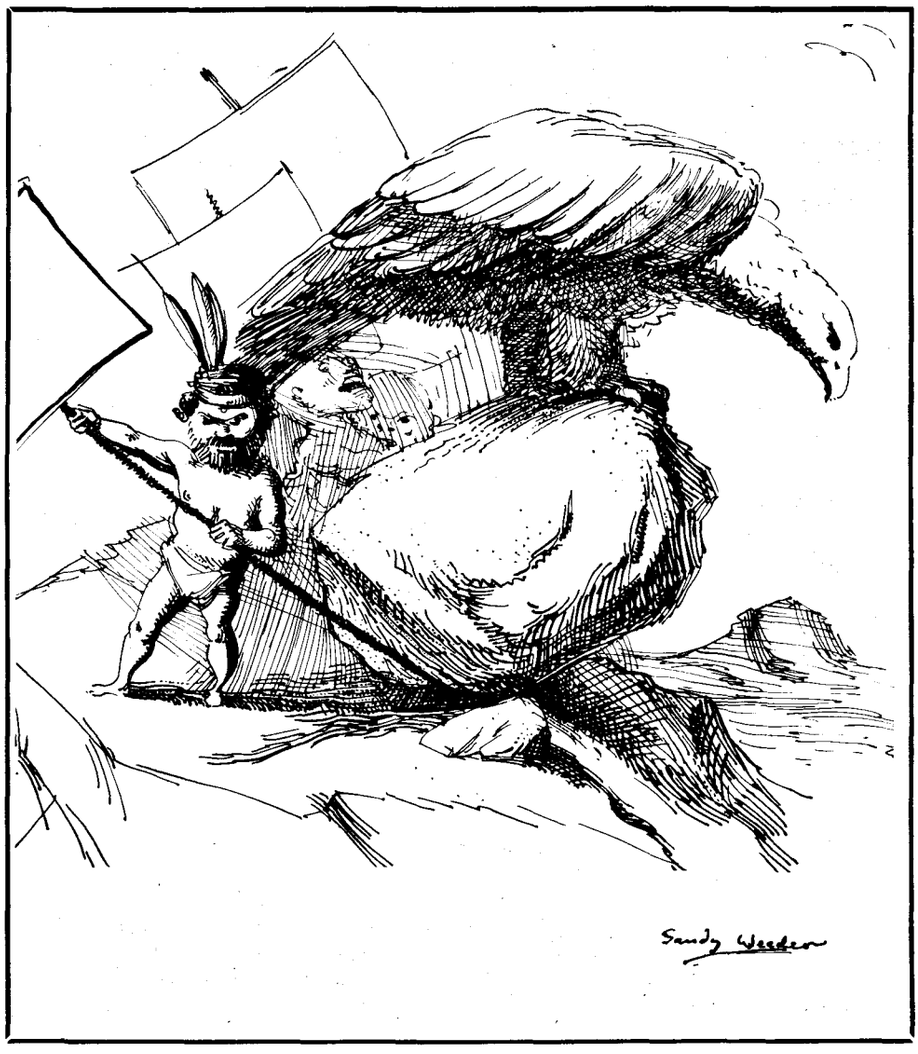
schools without ROTC. It made no such concession to Harvard and Yale,-and it is not likely to make one for other prestige schools, because it can get along without the small number of cadets produced by the elite schools. Instead, it will forget such schools and get its lieutenants from more co-operative schools like Texas A&M or some of the many schools on the waiting list to get an ROTC unit.

ROTC is well-accepted in these schools. It is only the elite schools with the greatest concentration of talent that seem most bent on shutting it off from access to army leadership positions. Such schools produce only a tiny fraction, perhaps a few hundred out of the fifteen to twenty thousand lieutenants commissioned each year, but the officers from good schools are far more important in quality than in quantity, for a number of reasons. Graduates of the good schools have already been more carefully screened for admission than graduates of less elite schools. They are more likely to have been exposed to the intellectual mainstream. They are more likely to know how to think. And they have enough credentials to make the professionals think they might know what they are talking about.

A crude illustration of this last point might be made with reference to Courtland D.B. Bryan's military intelligence company, described in his semi-autobiographical novel, **P.S. Wilkinson**, which won the Harper Prize in 1965. Lieutenant Wilkinson/ Bryan regarded his unit as a cultural wasteland, but he derived a certain satisfaction from telling the generals and colonels what to do--how to avert international crises, etc.-- by strategic application of his Yale-developed mind and credentials. His Harvard-trained company-mate, D. P. Welsh, likewise enjoyed and used a strategic position for encouraging the army not to make stupid shortsighted decisions. (Welsh is now a senior editor of **Ramparts** and is one of the very few opponents of the war who knows enough about order of battle to criticize it intelligently.) The correlation of elite school credentials and strategic functions in Bryan's and Welsh's company was very high. Of twenty officers in and out of the company over a two or three year period, three were ROTC graduates of prestige schools (Harvard or Yale), another eight had gone to middle-rank schools (Davidson, Penn State, UCLA, Notre Dame, etc.) and nine were from obscure schools or had had no college education. The company had six main operational slots, which could be ranked in order of importance on the basis of their degree of exposure to the generals and other policy-makers. The number one slot was occupied during the period by two lieutenants from the prestige group and two from the middle group. The number two slot had one prestige school officer and two middle. Number three had three low. Number four had one middle and three low. Number five had three middles; six had three low. Almost without exception, the lieutenants from prestige schools had greater access to the high command than the other officers with less prepossessing academic credentials, even those of higher military rank. Cutting off the influx of well- educated lieutenants like Bryan and Welsh would have a far more serious effect in isolating the army from the intellectual world (and vice versa) than the modest numbers of such cadet graduates of good schools would suggest.



The argument so far is intended to show that putting ROTC off the best campuses would be dangerous for the country because it would divorce the army from the intellectual centers of the public it is supposed to serve. When we stop encouraging intellectual leaders to serve as officers, we cut off the brains and perspective that keep the army from making stupid, shortsighted, self-centered decisions; we also cut off the military experience that permits intellectuals to make informed, effective appraisals of the military. But it would be particularly unfortunate for the schools' current struggle to achieve "relevance" -- to offer, to students who want it, training for knowledgeable leadership in dealing with the concrete problems of modern society. We tell our students that we can give them the broad, practical, intellectual background they will need to survive and succeed in the world of affairs, yet in practice those of us who call most boldly for relevance are the first to shrink from relevance which exposes us to matters we would rather not think about.

There is in most professions a strong impulse toward "self-definition," which in older and blunter language means self-segregation. We profit today from professional specialization and compartmentalization, but we also suffer from it. The rich neither live, nor work with the poor. Lawyers dine with other lawyers; policemen go bowling with other policemen; army officers live in a world of other army officers; professors and students live in a world of other professors and students; young people and old people, blacks and whites, different occupational groups live in a world which is already mutually exclusive and is fast becoming more so. There are enough of us around nowadays that we can live comfortably in our own large subgroups with only a modest and ill-informed concern with other subgroups. The reader can test this assertion, if he wishes, by assessing the status of everyone who came to his last party and contrasting it, say, with a square dance in any small community forty years ago. Today we are comfortably wedded to the false notion that every profession and group should be encouraged to do its own thing. If we are going to have an army, according to this line of thought, let it be staffed with people who like that kind of thing, not us sensitive and humane intellectuals. If we are going to have a university, let it be staffed with those of us who seek truth, and rid us of those cloying chauvinists who care more for the national defense than for the free exchange of ideas. Our annoyance with the war and the draft merely aggravates our disposition to isolate ourselves from the rest of society. Unlike Milton, Socrates, Thomas Jefferson, George Washington and James Madison we are hooked on the notion that the national defense is incompatible with the free exchange of ideas

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and that proper policy should therefore be aimed at segregating the two concerns. This notion is twisted. The free exchange of ideas does depend on the national defense, and it depends very directly on a national defense which has not been purposely segregated from the universities and thereby left entirely to its own devices.

Great American Series

Diplomatic action without the backing of military strength in the present world can lead only to appeasement.

George C. Marshall

For people annoyed with the military but not willing to risk dropping ROTC, there is another line of attack: keeping ROTC, but in a second-class status with no academic credit. Rationales for dropping credit come readily to hand: ROTC is "necessarily nationalistic" while we are "cosmopolitan;" ROTC is controlled by external elements; ROTC is inconsistent with a liberal arts education;" ROTC lacks academic content. One may raise legitimate questions about the academic content of ROTC in four years of animated discussion of ROTC at Harvard and The Claremont Colleges, that those most anxious to cut academic credit for ROTC have a violent antipathy toward any attempt to consider ROTC's actual strengths and weaknesses as a curricular offering. When one of the Claremont Colleges appointed a committee to examine the content of ROTC instruction, all but two of the most vocal opponents of ROTC credit refused to serve on the committee, and those two resigned on discovering that the committee was actually going to evaluate what ROTC had to offer one of them threatening to punch the chairman in the mouth for wasting his time.

The credit issue is a symbolic issue. Its sudden appearance and its exclusive application to ROTC reflect a desire to chastise the military for the Vietnam war, not a concern with academic standards, because the stated standards are not consistently applied. Most colleges, for instance, regularly grant credit for courses they do not control. They grant credit for other colleges' courses, they grant credit for Washington Semester, for study abroad, for transfer students, and for "study voyages" around the world. Where student interest, or college image, or "relevance" is claimed, they grant credit for courses of substantially less academic content than ROTC. Students at The Claremont Colleges, for instance, have gotten, or can get credit for field trips to digs, for doing their own thing in the desert for six weeks, for living and working in the ghetto, for voice lessons, for drama workshop, for nursery class, for children's art, children's literature, ceramics, College Bowl and Black Arts. They can get credit for weekend "experiential workshops" and by sincerely asking "How shall I live my life?" in a course on Seeds of Liberation--with the applause of the people most gravely concerned that courses on military history and tactics lacked academic content. Most of those who deplore ROTC's "nationalistic" orientation seem less concerned with ridding ourselves of nationalism per se than with ridding ourselves of the wrong kind of nationalism (the stars and stripes kind) while embracing more modish varieties, such as black nationalism or the various Liberation movements.

There is little harm in most of these, and some good in many. But there is serious harm in an allegedly "hardnosed" credit policy which discredits only ROTC, for two reasons: it is not a principled or consistent policy, and its inconsistency cuts the wrong way. It dissociates military education from other forms of education at a time when military education should be of paramount concern to the rest of the country. There are strong self-segregating tendencies in all professions, including the military, but the military, of all professions, is the one we can least afford to segregate. We cannot afford to ignore something which consumes half the national budget and has at its disposal the means to destroy the world many times over. If relevance is the touchstone for academic credit, we should give double credit for ROTC. Instead, because we fear the military and do not quite understand it, we try to isolate ROTC, which can only compound the strains of mutual igorance and fear which already exist between the military and the intellectual world. Noam Chomsky surprised everybody when he argued that chemical and biological warfare research should be conducted on campus so that student and faculty members could keep track of what was going on, but he was stating what would be obvious were it not for our own self-segregation: that chastising the military on campus does not stop it nor control it; it merely cuts it loose from intelligent appraisal, concern, and restraint. Cutting credit for ROTC would do nothing to preserve academic standards (if anything, it would debase them by tying them to the latest fad), but it would, under present circumstances, go a long way toward endorsing the concept of cadet-as-nigger now popular in many quarters. We cannot send the military back to Africa, as so many would like to do, but we can at least express our displeasure by treating them as second-class citizens while others of less academic merit continue to go first class. This is wrong, not so much because the cadets need the modest credit they get for ROTC as because in present context it tells our students that we think they are "niggers" if they train for war, but white men if they study Seeds of Liberation. Nobody likes being a second-class citizen; few students will sweat their way through to ROTC commissions in an institution which tells them by its acts that others' sweat is to be rewarded while theirs is only to be tolerated.

No one knows quite what a liberal education is, though we regularly use the term for our own purposes, but surely such an education should give us perspective and penetration which we might otherwise have lacked. An educated person should know what problems exist, how they relate to one another, which ones are most important and how to go about solving, or at least facing them. War is one of the problems we must face, perhaps the greatest one, and ROTC is one way of facing it. We have recognized for more than a hundred years the need for active sponsorship of military studies on college campuses, following the understanding of Thomas Paine that those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must, like men, undergo the fatigue of supporting it, and the wisdom of John Milton who said, "I call therefore a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both public and private, of peace and war." War is not a problem to be dealt with from ignorance. We are supposed to take a special pride in educating leaders in the world of affairs. We teach our students to grapple with problems, not shun them, and to grapple with them from knowledge, and not from ignorance. Other countries may be content, and even proud to turn out graduates who can only bawl by the side of rough roads they have never learned to travel; here such self-imposed incompetence is still considered a flaw. Our cadets are part of our tradition of education for leadership. They have the courage to sweat their way through arduous military training and risk their necks after graduation. We should have the courage to support them. □

Ward Elliott is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Claremont Men's College. He is Vice Chairman of the Group Against Smog Pollution and Director of the Henry Salvatori Center. He received his Ph.D from Harvard and LL.B from the University of Virginia.

The Woman Problem

George F. Will

Earlier this year America faced the tedious prospect of a new decade without a new oppressed group to liberate. But in one swell fell swoop our Yankee ingenuity conjured into existence a gaggle of downtrodden persons to uplift. We discovered that women need liberating and this discovery has liberated us from creeping ennui.

This oppressed majority will gain Uhuru come Hell or low hemlines. Just ask Barney Rosset, pornographer. Rosset runs Grove Press, an establishment guided by his philosophy: "What's wrong with exciting people? Our whole society--television, movies, fashion--is built on exciting people." The Women's Liberation Front recently added a new dimension to the exciting business of pandering to prurient interests.

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The WLF sat in at Grove Press to protest commercial "sexism." The men at Grove Press are fierce opponents of repression, but they take a businesslike approach to mixing business and pleasure. They had the WFL protestors arrested. This was good for the Grove Press' property rights but bad for its revolutionary reputation. The WLF promptly announced that Grove Press has "the same mentality as Judge Hoffman" and demanded an end to "one-dirty-old-man-rule" at the Press. This reference to Rosset was less than fair. He is only forty-seven.

Most men know that struggling women need dramatic tactics, like bra burning, for it manifests the liberated woman's escape from the roles and stereotypes of a male-dominated society. Hence most men would suffer death, or at least a mild blister, in defense of every American's right--regardless of race, color, creed, national origin or sex--to burn bras.

Yet regretably this form of bodily witness, so helpful in eliminating false consciousness, causes air pollution. Recent studies reveal that if every women in America were to burn three slightly padded bras there would develop an enormous increase in air pollution and an enormous glut in Manhattan's garment district.

This is acceptable. As Lenin said, you shouldn't break eggs without making an omelette. Besides, the First Amendment is precise and unambiguous: congress shall make no law abridging the right of even the most flamingly symbolic speech. If men have the right to burn draft cards, then the principle of sexual reciprocity stipulates that women have the right to burn bras.

Some male Neanderthals thought female suffrage would suffice to end female servitude. This was rank sociological naivete. Advanced thinkers understand that we must use compensatory programs to correct the terrible legacy of centuries of unbridled male tyranny.

We need an ambitious program to salvage those young women who suffer the cultural deprivation of attending predominantly female colleges. Such a program could be called Upward Curtsey, and could use Federal funds to send (say) Bryn Mawr graduates to Atlanta, Georgia, for a two year hitch in the robust and rehabilitating atmosphere of Georgia Tech. Upward Curtsey would affirm the basic principles of the American Dream by guaranteeing any American girl the chance to grow up to be a Rambling Wreck from Georgia Tech.

It would be even better to directly attack what the "Mrs. Kerner Commission" calls "institutional male chauvinism." Let us begin by distinguishing between **DeJure** and **De Facto** discrimination.

DeJure discrimination is that which is established by law, or by the deliberate acts of public officials; such is the ban which bars women from the New York Mets' locker room. **De facto** discrimination results from community customs or mores, such as the practice of giving a lady your seat on the subway. The Constitution is not only color blind but sex blind, and it is immoral to tolerate laws or customs that take notice of another human being's sex.

Fortunately women have not fallen victim to the wretched condition denoted by the wretched noun "ghettoization." As a result of dumb luck (that is, without HEW guidelines), women are spread evenly across the nation. Balanced residential patterns reduce the need for forced busing to achieve sexual balance in schools. Nevertheless, some busing is needed to eliminate pockets of impacted sexual imbalance.

For example, there was a time when Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, actually boasted about being the nation's largest all-female college. Although this "peculiar institution" is becoming co-educational, the pace of Smith's progress is unacceptable. Under the guise of "deliberate speed," Smith is substituting tokenism for meaningful change.

The government must mount a determined attack on all such "private" institutions. Their so-called "privateness" is an illusion which must not insulate them from public control. After all, every autumn the students get to these colleges by driving over public highways. Therefore the students are engaging in interstate commerce and the colleges are permeated with public aspects.

Such colleges must be compelled to conform with the law of the land, which is that every school must have a sexual

composition identical with that of the surrounding community. The Justice Department should seek a court order requiring Smith to bus males from (say) Amherst until the Smith student body has the same sexual composition as the town of Northampton. Forced busing is awkward, but no one can take seriously the disingenuous argument that Smith women and Amherst men will get together without Federal compulsion.

Advanced sociological thinking supports the justice of such busing. Federal officials will soon release the "Mrs. Coleman Report." This is the fruit of a multi-million dollar research project which proved what it set out to prove, namely, that when young men and women study together they learn some things they might not otherwise learn in school. Therefore, it is monumental hypocrisy to attack **de jure** sexism while leaving the **de facto** form untouched. It is time to opt for minimum standards saying "Never!" to deliberate speed, letting the chips fall where they may, and pausing only to pluck the blossom equality from the nasty nettle sexism.

Now after forced busing achieves integration at all schools, we must recognize the justice of women's demands for creative sexual separatism. We must acknowledge the independent dignity of "female culture" by establishing "female studies programs" that will cleanse the sex-bias from our hairychested university curricula.

The "historical sexism" that lavishes attention on Napoleon while downgrading the contributions of Catherine d'Medici and Katherine von Bora must end. We must demand that the time devoted to Catherine the Great be proportionate to the real uniqueness of her behavior. Fairness demands that if Faulkner is studied, there must be equal time for Eudora Welty. The principle of literary sex parity requires trade-offs between Sinclair Lewis and Ayn Rand, or Norman Mailer and Taylor Caldwell. And breathes there a woman with a soul so dead, who never to herself has said, "One Hemingway deserves a Willa Cather?"

Some persons worry that women's liberation will distract us from the all-important task of fending off environmental apocalypse. But that worry betrays an insufficiently systemic view, for the new science of "issue ecology" teaches that every issue is related to every other issue in this troubled biosphere.

Dr. Mary Calerone, director of the Sex Information and Education council of the United States, recently demonstrated awareness of this when she told the Women's National Democratic Club that, "The primary ecological system that all other systems need to serve is the relationship between a man and a women. It, too, is subject to pollution." Clearly there are more forms of pollution under the sun than appear in the Sierra Club's philosophy.

Dr. Calderone understands the charm of "environment" as a political issue. One cannot turn around (or roll over in bed) without rubbing up against environment. This is deliciously egalitarian. Anyone with a grievance is relevant now that "environmental concern" is the measure of relevance.

Fastidious people may claim that Dr. Calderone is contributing to semantic pollution in order to make her cause congruent with this month's priorities. But it is tolerant to believe that pollution is in the eye of the beholder. Anything that bothers you is a pollutant of your environment.

Of course, when we sweep every one of the world's disagreeable features into the "environment crisis" we turn the term "environment" into a classification that doesn't classify. But while the term loses precision, it gains an ability to make one feel **au courant**, which is how I feel when I can classify bad books, shoddy arguments and Senator Fulbright as "pollutants" and ecological disasters. Women liberators must feel relevant twice over--as freedom fighters and environment cleaners.

Female assertiveness is going to have some dramatic effects on American life. If women shun jobs to which they were once relegated, who will be airline stewardesses? The day may come when the traveler slumps wearily into his seat, only to hear a rich baritone voice asking "Coffee, tea or milk?" Thus the women's liberation movement may rescue the railroad passenger business. Women may break the sex barriers in many oc-

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cupations. Someday a woman may play tight end for the Baltimore Colts. Then imagine the the spectator interest that would arise over a 15-yard penalty for illegal use of the hands and arms?

Finally there is the stigma of servitude attached to the exclusive use of women in the Playboy centerfold. Equity demands a color centerfold of Joe Namath, stapled in the navel. This will give men a sample of the shame and horror women feel when they are cast in the role of pliable sex objects.

There is one basic reason why women are victims of capitalism, male chauvinism, institutional sexism, imperialism, objectification, Hugh Hefner, psychological deformation, moral mutililation and physical exploitation. The reason? Women have nice bodies, and fortunately, government cannot do much about that.

We are much in need of a conspicuous problem which clearly cannot be solved by government. Some Americans do not believe such a problem exist. But the soft, warm, intractable fact about women's problems may teach these Americans an invaluable lesson about the very finite capabilities of government.

Women's liberation will not be a gift of government. Women must save themselves. Most important, they must not be betrayed into servility by "Aunt Toms," those collaborationists who trade their birthrights for a mess of service. No woman will be free until all women are willing to step on cockroaches. This is a stern test, but as the philosopher said, if women can't stand the heat they should stay in the kitchen. □

George F. Will graduated from Trinity College in 1962, received a degree from Oxford University, Magdalen College in 1964 and earned his Ph. D. from Princeton in 1968. Mr. Will is twenty-nine and instructs physical education in Washington, D.C.

A Conversation at the University Centers for Rational Alternatives

Courage has never been a virtue prominent in the American professor's repertory. In the Golden Days of Klannery and One-Hundred-Percent Americanism when the American Protective Association attempted to bring us together and anti-semitism competed in popular thought with nativism, most professors meekly followed the tides. Even as the bleak winds of Nazism began to howl through Europe the professors did not raise a very resonant hue and cry. Thus we should not expect many of our tweedy-coated tape recorders to act against the barbarians intent on destroying their university. When the more decent of our professors do take action to defend an open university they deserve the energetic support of all thinking students, whether conservative, moderate or liberal.

The University Centers for Rational Alternatives was founded by vigorous intellectuals like Sidney Hook who believe freedom and democracy are precious and worth fighting for. Composed of professors of many different political persuasions its members wish to preserve open universities and free inquiry. From reading this interview with UCRA's executive secretary Professor M.M. Todorovich, we hope you will gain an appreciation for their unique place in the contemporary struggle for the campuses and in American history. For information concerning membership in UCRA write UCRA, 110 West 40th Street, New York, New York 10018.

THE ALTERNATIVE: What is the purpose of University Centers for Rational Alternatives?

PROFESSOR TODOROVICH: The basic purpose when we started it was to simply arouse the awareness of the profession to a changed situation on our campuses and the need for them--the professors, teachers--to do something about it. We found as we looked around that the confrontation was developing actually into a student-administration game with the faculty just somehow left in the middle, joining sometimes one camp and sometimes the other depending on the type of turmoil. And yet the educational process is essentially shouldered by the faculties and if any hopeful resolution of present difficulties has to come about, it will, in our opinion, materialize after this basic element of the educational process, the faculty, raises its voice and says something in its own way, depending on the local condition. It was immediately clear at the very onset that because of the pluralistic type of our society and of our educational system there's nothing one can suggest as an overall solution nor is there any recipe for a quick end of troubles. But one can alert people--by cross-referencing them with other places--to what already happened there. Now, of course, you don't do such things only operationally. You like to stand behind something--certain propositions or principles--and so in the first issue of our publication **Measure** Professor Hook wrote a little capsule summary of what--at that time--we saw as the essence of UCRA:

> University Centers for Rational Alternatives has no specific program or panacea for the problems of any one troubled campus. It is committed only to three fundamental propositions. First, in a free university all questions are open to inquiry, discussion, and debate: none can be settled by the exercise of violence or by threats of intimidation. Second, any attempt to deprive the qualified scholar and teacher of freedom to determine what he should teach and to prescribe by threats of force or class disruption how he should teach is a violation of academic freedom. Third, the faculty through its representatives must be continuously involved in the consideration of new problems and challenges to the educational experience; it must keep open all lines of communication among constituent groups of the university community, and work continuously for the establishment of a rational consensus on all matters of common educational concern. UCRA is an association of independent centers which subscribe to the three propositions above.
>
> We are happy that these propositions withstood the acid test of time.

THE ALTERNATIVE: You are opposed to militant students then?

TODOROVICH: Well, when you scan through the three propositions you see that UCRA is opposed to violence of any kind--intimidation and so on. That's a negative aspect if you wish, but it's only a necessary response to a very real and pressing threat. Now, on the positive side we are for keeping the universities an open place for exchange of ideas because only by keeping it open and not yielding to any dogmatic pressure can the university discharge its duty. And the third proposition--I'm not paraphrasing it in exact sequential order--stipulates that we will do our best to keep all the channels of communication between all the three parts of the university open because only through clear exchange of ideas rather than through arbitrary actions from whatever quarter can a true stability and understanding be brought about. But to come back to your original question I would say of course yes. Violence has no place whatsoever on our campuses--I don't think it has much place anywhere in our society, but we're limiting ourselves to the university. It is almost beyond comprehension that by a certain kind of long drawn argumentations, which I think you know perfectly well, doctrinaire persons who cannot get their views adopted and thus become bitter, justify their recourse to violence as it being the only available option. But this of course goes firstly against the very grain of the democratic process according to which if you are in a minority you are just in a minority and this may look too bad to you, but you have to assume that the only legitimate recourse is to try to persuade the majority by argument--and not by clubs and lead pipes as some militants wanted to do--that your recommendations are worth trying. And secondly, in particular, a university should be a place where every view properly presented has the right to exist--to co-exist--with every other, and only the power of persuasion should be the one which ultimately makes one view more acceptable than the other. Even every heresy should have a way of remaining known and discussed within the academy. I am a physicist and remember vividly that Galileo was at one time considered a heretic. It turned out nevertheless that he was right, and the Pope was, let us say, misinformed.

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But Galileo Gallilei, the precursor of Newton, did not become what he is presently in the esteem of people by carrying a bomb or something like that, but by using reason.

THE ALTERNATIVE: What is the composition of your organization? Who are the members?

TODOROVICH: Let me put it this way. We first thought the organization to be for all of those who are involved in the educational process. In practice, however, it grew into a predominantly faculty organization. There's a sprinkling of administrators but mostly those who were educators and then in some way graduated to become administrators. One very interesting case in point here is San Francisco State President Hayakawa who was **Professor** Hayakawa when he first joined the UCRA. And now, some people who are trying to be critical of UCRA use him as proof that UCRA shares the views of a very militant president and so on. Yet as I said, he was a "simple" professor at the time he joined UCRA. On the other hand, we are not actively soliciting administrators because we would never want to look like an arm of any administration. We have, of course, also a sprinkling of graduate students who find that they just don't have a real voice anywhere yet, and since they probably plan to remain committed to teaching and learning they join UCRA even at this early stage. One day maybe we will have even UCRA student-affiliated groups. One is now, I believe, in the embryonic stage in the Boston-Harvard area, but this is a local thing involving people there, and if they wish to have it, this will be fine with us. In this sense our membership has really a dual purpose. We have first a national membership from campuses all across the country and Canada. I think the number of campuses is approximately three hundred now. And by being members of UCRA then teachers register their support for our principles and our positions relative to others. They give also a weight to whatever statement or policy pronouncement is made by the national office. But on the other hand we encourage our members to band together into local campus groups to produce some kind of caucuses of-- if I may say so, enlightened people, enlightened in what the turmoil is all about--and then try to affect the alertness of the faculties so that maybe ad hoc committees or groups can be formed to handle specific problems.

"PROTOCOL NOTES: *The New York Times (e.g., July 24), in reporting the trial in New Haven for the murder of Alex Rackley, refers throughout to Warren Kimbro, the government witness, as 'Kimbro,' to George Sams, another government witness, as 'Sams'— and to Bobby Seale, head of the Black Panther Party and a co-defendant, as 'Mr. Seale.'"*

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THE ALTERNATIVE: Have you had much difficulty organizing and growing?

TODOROVICH: Not really, I must say. We started with a moderate goal, as kind of a pilot project in a friendly law office which was available to us after five o'clock when the regular occupants finished their jobs. In a natural way we came to a point where, thanks to the continuous support of our membership we started to produce an impact. I want to emphasize that we are still, today, strongly dependent and supported by the contributions from our members, the faculties of the United States. They are sending us contributions of ten dollars, twenty-five dollars--whatever they can afford. In that sense there was no difficulty. We just slowly grew and grew and are continuing to grow. And we have in this way sufficient financial support to continue existing

Professor Todorovich

indefinitely. In another way we are not at all happy because the magnitude of the challenge does require a substantially larger response than we are able to generate. We would need to have more means to travel around to talk with our good members directly rather than only through telephone and by mail. We would need more funds to organize regional conferences of our members where they could exchange ideas on the spot, multilaterally rather than bilaterally and through writing. We would need more funds to make wider membership drives. There are still very many people who write letters to us which read as follows: "I accidentally heard about UCRA. Would you please send me more information?" or "I share an issue of **Measure** with somebody else..." And so on. We are beginning to be occasionally mentioned by the various media. In the past we never tried to do anything to cater specifically to the press or other media: whatever we got was purely accidental. While in a certain sense such an approach is good, in another we are generally less known than our record warrants because we are totally understaffed and underdeveloped. We have only two paid employees here and even this happened only after last week. Before that UCRA was run one hundred per cent by voluntary work. So these are difficulties, but I think on the balance such a regular and normal growth gives us a more solid base on which to stand than if we enjoyed a greater abundance during the early stages. Most members do send us changes of address and a wealth of information about their respective campuses. They obviously want to get our publications, and they read what they get. We are extremely proud that through our publication **Measure** we did succeed in establishing an independent medium through which we can reach three or four thousand people who are on our mailing list and who **Do** read **Measure.** We do not have to depend on the benevolent attitude of the media in order to have something brought to the attention of the profession. To push the argument even further, it is nowadays sometimes worse to be mentioned by some people or publication than not to be mentioned at all. So in this way, we achieved an independence, money-wise as well as publication-wise. And we hope that this gives us a solid base for further pursuit.

THE ALTERNATIVE: Have you encountered much hostility from faculty--in particular--and students?

TODOROVICH: First of all it's very interesting that there were very few reports of any noticeable student hostility. I would explain this to myself mostly by A) that the number of militant students--those who engage in this kind of thing--is very small. Actually when there are turmoils the number of souls coming to gatherings is a rather sporadic and ad hoc-ish thing. Events build around moods that are mostly rooted in fashionable psychological trends. These moods die away as fast as they come and one generally enounters less prolonged hostility than people would think. It's a minority which really does the vandalism and breaking and so on. The majority is just around, there--perhaps applauding and joining manifestation. But this is how far they go. On the other hand the hard core minority which is really moving events--it is too busy doing "their thing" to have much strength left to vilify UCRA. Now among professors--well, here I would agree that there are a few vociferous souls around, usually those who overspilled from their earlier SDS student days into the ranks of the SDS-type faculty. Still, very little action from these quarters did come our way. Such faculty groups are also not very numerous. One of the most active organizations of whose existence we know--the New University Conference--when counting all members like graduates assistants and such has no more than about nine hundred members. Now this is not a big opponent--if I may call them opponents at all. In addition many of such people, I think, may have drifted quite accidentally into the whole thing. Our initial obstacles were rather of a very different nature. For instance the general suspicion of the profession against anything orgainized. Professors became professors because they wanted to have a quiet corner where they could think, ponder and come up with some conclusions. □

(To Be Continued in Next Issue)

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After Goldwater, the . . .

Origins of Dissolution

John C. Meyer

Surveying the political scene today one finds fragmentation and disorder on all sides, yet only six years ago the Liberal Establishment was fresh from its greatest triumph, having united Liberal Republicans, trade unionists, white ethnic groups, Negroes, academicians, and even radicals for the defeat of Barry Goldwater. But in the nature of that victory, the discerning eye could see the shape of things to come. It was not a victory for a new coalition espousing a new program, as that of Franklin Roosevelt, but a negative victory. It was a victory for an anti-Goldwater coalition made possible by a campaign of fear and distortion, run not only by the Democrats but also by the media themselves, before which anything the 1970 Nixon-Agnew campaign has been accused of pales into insignificance.

The breakup of such a coalition was inevitable, but it did not simply return American politics to the status quo. With the 1964 election out of the way the growing tensions within the Democratic Party were free to emerge. As it had to face the existential consequences of its theories of half-hearted struggle with Communism abroad and social engineering at home, the Liberal Establishment itself became divided.

However the first split in the anti-Goldwater coalition, that of the radicals, black and white, occurred by the spontaneous choice of these radicals, and so soon after the election it cannot be considered a result of Great Society policies. But it was a result of liberalism, particularly as manifested in the rhetoric and action of the Kennedy administration. Both these strands of radicalism feed on such New Frontier ideas as the "revolution of rising expectations" (often deliberately created both at home and abroad); both are deeply rooted in the attitudes and methods of the civil rights movement.

The liberal intellectuals around Kennedy did not understand that the principle of civil disobedience, though it may occasionally be moral for a few highly disciplined individuals, is destructive of democracy and imcompatible with the maintenance of a civilized order over the long term. It is destructive of democracy because the very keystone of democracy is the idea that everyone must respect the results of the decision-making process, and that if one's side loses, one must wait until next time. Demands for instant perfection -- "freedom now" -- usually cannot be satisfied even when the objective sought is inherently legitimate; those who expect such demands to be satisfied completely disable themselves from responsible participation in actual democratic processes which are the best we have, and in many cases the best we are ever likely to have.

Civil disobedience is incompatible with the maintenance of any civilized order, because it has an inherent tendency to spread --- from the more sophisticated to the less, and from the supporters of one cause to the supporters of all causes. We have already fully experienced the results of the first of these phenomena, but the second has yet to run its full course. True, we are afflicted with Women's Lib, but the opponents of such leftist causes have yet to take it up. If civil disobedience is a legitimate part of the decision-making process, why shouldn't they take it up, and if it is not, then why is it allowed to affect the decisions actually make in our society?

Until 1965 radicalism was not a significant political phenomenon. In that year the Black Power and student radical movements emerged with startling suddenness. Both retained the idea of disobedience to an "unjust" authority, but discarded, or relegated to the tactical plane, the idea of non-violence. Both movements rejected liberal methods, and at least some liberal goals. The Black Power movement led both directly and indirectly to Watts, Newark, and Detroit; student radicalism led to Berkley, Columbia, and San Francisco State. The Black Power movement was made possible by liberals who told Negroes that society owed them whatever they wanted and that they should blame society, not themselves, for all their ills; the student movement was made possible by liberal professors telling students that the American system is so rotten that they are justified in doing whatever is necessary to change it.

While radicalism was growing, liberals became progressively more split, with two groups appearing -- what we may call left, or radical-liberals and center-liberals. The former, concentrated especially in education and the media, became dovish and at least apologists for Black Power; the latter concentrated especially in the governmental, corporate, and union bureaucracies, were more committed to integration and the middle (Johnson) course in Vietnam.

These divisions continue to be reflected in the liberal approach to defense and to the law and order issue. Even when things go to extremes and such cherished liberal values as academic freedom and free speech are under attack from the radicals, the liberals are usually unable to take a strong stand without leadership from outside their own ranks, and even when they do, there are always some who side with the radicals.

This same period saw another, not strictly political, phenomenon, that is, the emergence of the "counter-culture." The term "hippie" and the wide-spread phenomenon to which it refers both became current only in 1965. The same year saw the emergence of the drug cult on campus which has done more than any other single factor to set the campus in opposition to the world outside, and which, of course, tends to bring them in conflict with the law.

"Turn on, tune in, drop out" is just as revolutionary a message in its own way as "burn, baby, burn", and it is far more acceptable to most of its potential audience. It is a rejection of self-discipline, reason, and reality for self-indulgence, irrationality, and illusion. If those who are devotees of the counter-culture simply "did their thing" it might be annoying, but, as believers in individual freedom, conservatives might merely adopt an attitude of tolerance toward them. However, they are wont to "do their own thing" with a disregard of the right (especially property rights) of others who do not happen to share their proclivities. Furthermore, having no commitment to the American, constitutional system, and only a vague, generally left-oriented system of values, they are easily led back into the political arena.

It is but one short step from the non-political hippie to the Abbie Hoffman Yippie, or the nihilist- anarchist Weathermen--or for that matter the Charles Manson-type criminal. When people speak of rejection of "middle-class values" it would be well to remember that, while they may start with sexual taboos, marijuana, and motivation toward material success, there is no basis either in reason or experience to expect the process of rejection to stop short with these values. Rather, history would seem to teach us that many will go on to reject the entire system of self-restraint which civilization imposes on the individual, leaving the natural man, otherwise known as the savage, free and unrestrained.

I believe it was this coming cultural revolution which Goldwater was trying to warn us about when, toward the end of the 1964 campaign, he began to emphasize the "breakdown of morality" in America. At the time I though it was a false issue, but years later when I was engaged in the struggle with the radicals at Columbia, I remembered his words and knew he had seen deeper and farther than I.

The liberal reaction to the cultural revolution is even more confused and ambiguous than their reaction to the political revolution. Many try to be "with it", while others serve on commissions to study it. Being relativists they cannot say it is bad, and being believers in Progress, they cannot be against the newest trend.

What has happened is that 1964 was the last victory of the Liberal Establishment, because liberalism itself is dying. However, so intertwined is this establishment with the fabric of our society, and so entrenched are liberals in positions of leadership in our society, that the destruction of liberalism threatens to be the destruction of the society itself. This is doubly true because the consequences of liberal policies for the whole society are coming home to roost at the same time that dying liberalism leaves us with a dearth of leadership, moral or political.

So, what should conservatives do? Sit back and say "We told you so; it serves you liberals right; now clean up the mess you have made, or perish in it"? Unfortunately we cannot afford such an attitude, because when the liberals receive their just deserts, it is our cities, our universities, indeed our country which will

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be destroyed. We are not utopians; hence we must realize that we can only work with what exists. As conservatives we also know that even a bankrupt leadership is not replaced all at once, except by revolution, which is the worst of all political evils, except tyranny. Therefore, it is our lot to work with and support such liberal institutions as can be saved from the radical destroyers, until the time comes when we are strong enough to take leadership ourselves through established channels. □

John C. Meyer studies law at the University of Pennsylvania. He has appeared in Ideas, National Review *and* Triumph. *From 1968 through 1969 he was one of those crazed fascists trying to save the late Columbia University from Liberalism's Darlings.*

Cover Story

Brando, Mailer and Liberalism: A Tale of Decline

John Avey

In 1947, Tennessee Williams' "A Streetcar Named Desire" made Marlon Brando a theatrical star. In 1948, the publication of **The Naked and the Dead** made Norman Mailer a literary celebrity, the American left had a third party -- the Progressive Party -- and Liberals scored an amazing political victory when Harry Truman defeated Tom Dewey.

Brando, Mailer, Liberalism: What happened to these three gods of the late nineteen-forties? There was a time when people of taste and intelligence took them quite seriously. Today, at a time when one might have expected Brando to have become sort of an American Olivier and Mailer an authentic successor to Dos Passos and American Liberalism a realistic political alternative for thinking human beings -- what do we have? If you seek an answer to that question, simply go to see the latest Brando film -- or read Mailer's latest "new journalism" piece -- or listen to Charles Goodell. Utter disasters.

It is difficult to explain to those who did not directly experience it the impact Brando and Mailer made during the late forties and early fifties. People who had never been within a thousand miles of the Broadway theater knew of Brando. They had seen his photograph in all the magazines -- the torn teeshirt picture, with Brando folding his well-muscled arms across his chest, scowling into the camera. He was the New Actor -- and America wondered what he would do next.

Mailer didn't make the same kind of direct impact on the American consciousness. For one thing, he had achieved fame by writing a novel -- and there weren't that many Americans then (or today for that matter) interested in somebody who writes books. But this was a **different** kind of book. It daringly used almost-curse words ("fug") and had explicit sex scenes (explicit for those innocent days). But what was more important was the quality of the writing. Here, at last, was the super-writer of the left that American Liberals had been waiting for since the nineteen-thirties. Here was a young man from Brooklyn (forget about the Harvard part) who exposed the hypocrisy and boredom and fear of army life by telling his story through the eyes of many kinds of Americans: the white-southern semi-literate; the frustrated Irish-Catholic; the cruel Texan; the Mexican-American who couldn't find his way in Anglo society -- and, on the officer's level, the semi-facist General Cummings and the Liberal Lieutenant Hearn.

Mailer was the writer the left had always said would come. Here was a good, Liberal-minded, progressive young man with his roots, so to speak, in the concrete. He could write like hell and he had all the right -- or is it left? -- kinds of attitudes.

If anyone had been asked to predict a future for these two, it might have sounded something like this: **Brando will go to Hollywood and become a star. He will grow in stature as an actor and probably be the leading American actor by 1960.**

Mailer will write long, multi-character novels of social protest and become a popular as well as critical success. He will be to the fifties and sixties what Dos Passos and Hemingway were to the twenties.

Such a prediction would have seemed quite safe. There simply were no other young men in the fields of acting or writing who had so completely captured the imagination of the public. Yet, within a few years, Brando began his decline and Mailer never artistically recovered from his second novel, a fiasco titled **Barbary Shore**, which, despite the efforts of the Mailerites to give it some kind of critical standing, is a dreary, unconvincing, pretentious, leftist tract disguised as a novel.

There are those among his admirers who will admit **Barbary Shore** was a disaster but who will claim that his next novel, **The Deer Park**, is a neglected masterpiece, proof of Mailer's great genius, etc., etc. This theory received an extra-critical boost when, allegedly, President Kennedy greeted Mailer at the White House by mentioning **The Deer Park.** Volumes could be written on this scene: a President whose favorite fiction was the James Bond series, having been briefed by his staff to say **just** the right thing to this distinguished representative of the leftist intellectual establishment . . . ah, the delicious fakery of it all!

Yet President Kennedy was ill-served: despite the untiring efforts of the Mailerites to make **The Deer Park** seem to be an Important Novel of our Times, it is really a failure. It has only one trouble, but that a fatal one: Norman Mailer has nothing to say. Whatever is good in the book -- the use of the Hollywood **milieu** as representative of what the author thinks is the worst in American culture -- was done infinitely better by Nathaniel West in **The Day of the Locust.** What is bad about the novel -- the turgid philosophising and the adolescent crush on fashionable leftist attitudes, is all Mailer.

Mailer finally turned his back on fiction and tried social prophecy. Then he tried to become a Certified Public Nuisance. Then he became a routine television talk-show bore, then a wife-stabber, then. . .but why go on? The further he removed himself from the rather simple but believable characters of his first novel, the more absurd his artistic life became. Re-read **The Naked and the Dead** and you wonder how anyone twenty-five years old could have written so well; re-read **Advertisements for Myself** and you simply wonder.

That Mailer has lately received praise and even the Pulitzer Prize for his work does not seem to me to contradict the theory that he is artistically out of gas. Unable to write a good serious novel, he has turned to a less demanding craft, journalism, and, with the help of some trick mirrors and slight-of-hand publicity, made his efforts in the new journalism seem to be a continuation of rather than a break with his work as a creator of fiction. His sycophants in the world of literary criticism have heaped him with praise, but his latest fiction (**An American Dream, Why Are We in Vietnam?**) just isn't very interesting, and I think his books must embarrass him more than anything else. He must realize he has never fulfilled his promise as a novelist and fifteen Pulitzer Prizes won't change that.

What about Brando? He made his first movie appearance in **The Men**, a low-key story of paraplegics. He was sullen, moody, sensitive, and altogether excellent as a crippled soldier. He then repeated his stage success in the film version of **Streetcar.** He was, again, excellent as Stanley Kowalski.

All of this was in the early fifties. From then on he went into a steady and horrifying decline with four exceptions: his very good Antony in **Julius Caesar**; his motorcycle chief in **The Wild One**; his lead in **Viva Zapata**; and his magnificent interpretation of the longshoreman in **On The Waterfront**, a movie which, despite a few overly melodramatic scenes, is one of the few great American films made during the nineteen-fifties.

But what has he done since then? It is all but impossible to remember the names of the films, let alone the roles he played. He has set some kind of world record for making movies that fail to make much or any money for their producers.

He has become addicted to seeing himself as a Christ figure and even **On The Waterfront** was marred by the battered, bloody, look-mom-I'm-a-holy-masochist ending. His career has been a sacrifice to the fashion that a film simply must have some kind of allegorical significance,

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preferably related to some fashionable Liberal dogma.

Notice: two gifted young men who begin their careers with enormous popular and artistic success, each of whom becomes, with time, less popular and less artistically successful. In their private and artistic lives, they become obsessed with the fashionable trappings of the American left: "causes" and social significance in his films for Brando and psuedo-philosophical leftist - Freudian - Marxian - you - name - it ravings in and out of print for Mailer. Instead of building on their initial popularity, they decide to become fashionably alienated. They strike poses. They make headlines -- but not for their artistic creativity.

Paralleling their decline is a similar decline in the political fortunes of American Liberalism. The Democratic Party, through which the Liberal establishment makes its wishes known, began to slowly but inexorably lose its historic association with the working class and lower-middle class American just about the time Brando and Mailer were turning their backs on "popular" success. The decline was momentarily halted in 1960, with the help of some gracious Democratic voters of Cook County, Illinois, who so loved John F. Kennedy they voted for him more than once. Yet, within less than ten years, things got so bad that midway through the Presidential campaign of 1968 some polls showed Hubert Humphrey, the ultimate late-forties Liberal, with less than thirty percent of the vote, an astounding political phenomenon.

Liberalism which could once claim to speak for the working man became increasingly alienated from him. In the public mind, the party of Al Smith became the party of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., John Kenneth Galbraith and other assorted Liberal academic zanies, men who mocked the values, openly scorned the life-style and derided the intelligence of the average big-city Democratic voter.

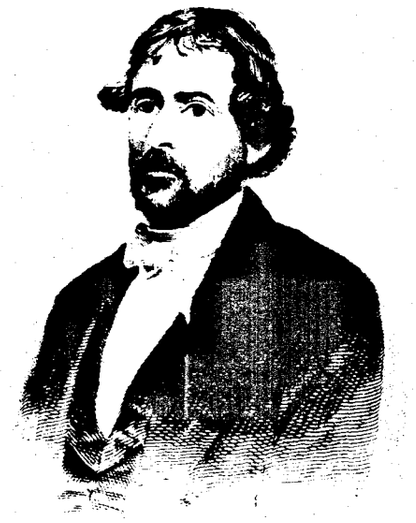
It is interesting to note similarities in the manner in which Brando, Mailer and Liberalism declined. All three chose what might be called the road of alienation. Democratic spokesmen began to sound like dime-store Jeremiahs, scolding the nation, demanding great sacrifices for alleged wrongdoing, calling down vengeance from heaven upon the hapless taxpayer who, according to the Democratic leaders, simply wasn't doing enough. It was a political version of Brando and Mailer artistic alienation: **to hell with popularity and the masses, it's more fun to preach than to listen.**

Thus, Liberalism has become the common scold of national politics. During the past ten years, every time a Liberal opened his mouth, out dropped a complaint about the racial attitudes of the white working class, the tyranny of the police or some other fashionable doctrine of doom and despair. The masochistic tendencies previously noted in Brando's characterizations are evident in almost every major Liberal politician, along with the running-off-at-the-mouth messianic delusions noted in Mailer. A masochistic messianic politician doesn't stand much of a chance with the average voter no matter how much the intellectual left may love him.

The same is true of actors and writers. It may be tremendously self-satisfying to know that the film critic of **Esoteria Quarterly** just loved your work or that some deranged British critic in the **New York Review of Books** found your latest light-hearted tale of sodomy just three degrees south of the best of Andre Gide -- but it doesn't cut any ice with the people who buy tickets and books.

A psychologist could probably find the cause of this deliberate alienation from the mass audience and the Democrats' suicidal impulse to shove guilt and despair down the throats of an unwilling electorate. Whatever the cause, the result has been the same for Brando, Mailer and Liberalism: a slow slide into decadence and disrepute, a loss of creativity and imagination and a tendency to shower maledictions upon ordinary people for not applauding when their values and interests are ignored or abused.

The decline of Brando and Mailer has not had any great effect on the history of our nation. But the decline of Liberalism is one of the great historical mysteries that



scholars will ponder for years to come. Why did Liberalism die?

Perhaps the secret can be found in an examination of Brando's films and Mailer's books. A comparison of Clark Gable's portrayal of Fletcher Christian in **Mutiny On the Bounty** and Brando's Christian a generation later is revealing. Gable's Christian is virile, confident, optimistic and outgoing; Brando's is unsure, moody, introspective and bewildered. Steinbeck's **The Grapes of Wrath** is the representative protest novel of the thirties, yet it is a veritable hymn of praise to the capacity for self-renewal in the United States compared to Mailer's dreary, sullen, vicious portrayal of his country in fiction and non-fiction. A similar comparison of FDR's speeches with those of contemporary Liberall spokesmen shows the same change from supreme self-confidence to doubt, from optimism to pessimism.

Thus the decline of Brando and Mailer parallels a more disastrous and more significant decline in what was once the single greatest ideological force in the free world. Today almost every political observer has noted the movement of the blue-collar worker and the middle class away from Liberalism. It is a movement which can be seen in politics and in the popular arts. The mass audience -- and the voting public -- just won't endure self-indulgence and cynicism and pseudo-intellectual posturing on the part of artists or politicians. Mailer and Brando have discovered this in art. The Democratic Party would have been wise to study the decline of these two giants of the late forties and early fifties, for in their decline can be seen the same historical process that is now leading the Democratic party to suicide. □

John Avey is a mortician and soldier of fortune working in Washington, D.C. He has served several Presidents, and his favorite hobby is skindiving.

Abortion

Bradley Warren Evans

Indianapolis attorney, Mr. Daniel Byron, and Notre Dame Law School professor, Dr. Charles Rice, have brought suit in Indiana court asking the court to hand down the finding that an unborn child is a legal person and entitled to protection of his Constitutional rights--a point still undecided by the higher courts.

Their brief states that the unborn child has a life of his own and is not simply a "part of the mother" -- a view held in ancient societies and in our own until the end of the nineteenth century. Recent medical research shows, the brief argues, that a distinct and individual life begins at the moment of conception, in that the genetic components determining the characteristics of the person are decisively established. Medical authorities are cited to show the fetus has distinctive biological status, and that life processes which make him a separate individual begin almost immediately.

Brown County, Indiana in autumn, the Mackinac Bridge during deer season, Colonial Williamsburg in the spring and the Astrodome anytime all have something in common: a lot of people won't see them these days. Take, for example, the 300,000 unborn infants who will be killed by abortionists' knives in New York this year.

Those babies, instead of inheriting the privilege of sucking in the crisp fragrance of the first day of winter, will be cut up, injected with saline solution, vacuumed into a bottle, or suffer any number of ingenious methods of killing cooked up by a society gone mad. Artur Rubenstein and Ludwig von Beethoven were almost aborted. How many geniuses have been shovelled into hospital incinerators? How many morons, indeed, for they were created by no less a Being than were their precocious counterparts?

We have lost our respect for human life. If we don't manage to prevent babies, then we kill them in the womb. And old people? And socially troublesome minority groups?

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And as Lenin's abortion program presaged the later genocidal programs, had we better not contemplate the consequences? And to identify these consequences, we had better take a look at and attempt, briefly, to tag the reasons.

We must recognize initially the fact that abortion has become monstrously casual. A New York hospital's ObGyn section has a cheery receptionist who answers the phone, "Hello, Pregnancy Interruption Service." Thousands of American women stroll nonchalantly into abortion clinics, have a baby yanked from their insides and then proceed home to cook a delightful meal for their ideal two-child family that evening. It is nothing more to them, one suspects, than spending a few desultory hours under their hair dryers.

One explanation advanced with some plausibility for this perfunctory killing is economic; i.e., decisions concerning family life--moral decisions--are now being made in America with all the pecuniary concern of shopping for a can of cut-rate peas. An economically rationalized society arrogates its exchequer morality to the sphere of human life, and questions of life and death come to be dictated by what Joseph Shumpeter called "an inarticulate system of cost accounting." That is to say that even babies are now subjected to fluctuations in supply and demand, and that their lives are literally dependent on the vagaries of the Dow Jones 40 Industrials.

Another, and related, explanation is that America's divorce from Christian morality has proceeded so far that **convenience**, i.e. a grotesque perception of the nature of leisure, wills that no children are to be allowed to interfere with **carpe diem.**

The principle of **non serviam**, or a desire to evade responsibility for the consequences of one's actions, has been noted before (cf. Dr. Charles Rice, **The Vanishing Right to Live**). In this regard, the now-descredited shuck of "population explosion" provided a convenient public-spirited mask for avoiding the natural ends of sex--babies. Now that this particular evasion has been debunked, we look to find, not a "population explosion" but a "copulation explosion," whereby couples freely employ sexual acts as mechanisms of mutual masturbation--indulging in the pleasure (and it is pleasure), but then proceeding to scrap the attendant responsibility.

Our Puritan heritage is far from dead. The same mindset which cringes at the thought of untrammelled breasts bouncing joyously down a campus sidewalk sees something deplorable in earthy, human things. On the other hand, Women's Lib--which purports to emancipate females from artificial convention--at the same time advocates the most unnatural stance toward human life, favoring artificial contraception and abortion. Women's Lib, indeed, could be the surreptitious arm of the Puritan auxiliary. Today devotion to the work ethic, a utilitarian outlook on family life and a tendency to see the world as the repository of all things bad are inherent in what Paul Cole Beach calls the "New Manicheanism." This particular heresy--one which becomes more evident in America every day--posits the eternal conflict between spirit and matter--with the bad guys (matter) frequently coming out on top. Thus, by this reasoning, life is so bad that it is to be avoided at all costs. Conception, babies, sex, all of these are to be run from as the plague because to bring life into a world so preternaturally malevolent would be--by the rationale of today's implicit Calvinists--the highest sin.

What we have, in sum then, is a hatred of life in America which springs, implicitly and explicitly, from a convergence of the above-mentioned and diverse factors, and which is translated even into public policy via the claptrap machinery of the democratic political process.

From whatever combination this loathing of life emerges, it can only be Bad News for Modern Man. But culpability for the Bad News will not be laid at the feet of any particular political cabal. The Nixon Administration presently is pursuing a vigorous anti-life policy (witness the imminent 1.1 billion dollar "birth control" bill, the population commissions, Dr. Roger Egeberg's abortion statements, **ad infinitum**). But Nixon's support in this ghastly endeavor comes from Republicans, Democrats, conservatives, liberals and you name it.

The attack on life is, in short, broad-based and ferocious.

The response to it must of necessity be no less ferocious, and perhaps tactically unconventional. □

Bradley Warren Evans graduated from the University of Louisville in 1968. He is presently doing graduate work at Georgetown, and serves on the national board of Young Americans for Freedom.

The Unheavenly City

by Edward C. Banfield
Little, Brown, $6.95

Recent years have witnessed some pleasant developments in the field of urban study, to wit the emergence of revisionists. As a matter of fact their growth in a field which had early been dominated by evangelizing charlatans almost renews my faith in the intellectual process. The city had long been the special demesne of Liberal ideologues who extinguished every problem in a gush of cool cash-money, generally from someone else's pocket. This technique has for years sustained vast populations of loving social workers inspired by self-images of the Good Fairy and offered security to big city politicoes who--in the words of Boss Plunkitt "seen (their) opportunities and took 'em." Unfortunately it failed to solve many social problems, and when in the early fifties Liberal urban planners made urban studies a profitable field for research at the major universities every intelligent taxpayer despaired for the city and prepared to move to South Dakota. Not only would our urban slums cost more but so would out academic slums. The professors proved us right. They fashioned urban renewal, model cities and all sorts of hair brained housing projects and transportation mazes until their more successful cities looked like gigantic jungle gyms with the emphasis on jungle.

But now the genius of the social strategists is under attack from revisionist scholars like Daniel P. Moynihan, James Q. Wilson and Edward Banfield. In **The Unheavenly City**, Banfield captures at least two laurels: A) he has antiquated much of the tommyrot once fatuously accepted as conventional wisdom, and B) he has vindicated much of the earlier conservative scholarship attracting long overdue prestige to the authors of this scholarship. In **The Unheavenly City** Banfield exhibits more coherent knowledge of modern urban problems than any single author has ever shown in one volume. The only book even approaching Banfield's erudition, thoughtfulness, and coherence is Daniel P. Moynihan's **Toward a National Urban Policy.**

Early in his study Banfield endeavored to think about "the problems of the city in the light of scholarly findings," whereupon he tripped across the embarrassing discovery that "the overwhelming majority of city dwellers live more comfortably and conveniently than ever before." Even the most impecunious city dwellers live more comfortably than in the past and indeed could live better still were it not for their being inflicted with the many imbecilic government programs dreamed up by persons of the middle and upper classes who wish to "do good" regardless of consequences. In asserting that most urban problems (at least those not arising from racial injustice, poverty and ignorance) are not serious (merely questions of amenity) and that society is unlikely to solve them because it simply does not want to solve them. Banfield, I believe, is subjecting Liberals to cruel and unusual punishment while nevertheless sounding an essential conservative theme --a theme sorely needed in a society psychically frazzled by its inability to feed the hungry, calm the waters and all that.

Banfield's argument is compelling. For instance today we gnash our teeth over congestion and air pollution yet blithely run about clogging the cities and fouling the atmosphere. The only way to ease urban congestion is to disperse the population, but most people do not want to live in Dog Patch. They want to live in cities where the action is, where multitudinous opportunity abounds ...where congestion abounds. The same problem underlies pollution. Pollution is not caused by fate or the turning pages of history; a city's pollution is caused by the consumption of its private citizens. They can lessen pollution by giving up their automobiles for mass transportation or bicycles, paying a little more for utilities, exercising more responsibility in their purchase and use of consumer goods. But automobiles are a positive necessity in many persons' lives; the cost of living is high enough in cities already and responsibility is the concern of govern-

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ments and corporations not of the average citizen. Obviously these urban problems will only be solved when people want to solve them.

Most urban problems exist because Americans judge their environment today by standards elevated over what they have been in the past. There was more crime, more poverty, and more drug addiction at the turn of the century, but people expected it. Today politicians and social reformers have induced a delirium of rising expectations amongst the citizenry and this is the most serious urban problem--people think there are dangerous problems and as with so many other problems "thinking may make it so."

Banfield has researched his subject thoroughly using state and federal commission reports dating to the last century and a vast collection of articles and books by the most sophisticated economists, sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists and so forth. His careful research impels him to distinguish these urban problems from what he terms the urban crisis--a most troubling phenomenon and no less resistant to solution. To understand the urban crisis one must understand that the city has grown according to three imperatives: demographic, technological and economic. But the disfigured remains of this growth--slums in which "the style of life is squalid and vicious"--were not prefigured solely by these "growth imperatives" nor by radical and economic dissimilitudes, but by the presence of four cultures within the city--to wit: upper class, middle class, working class and lower class. Delineating these cultures by their inhabitants' psychological orientation towards the future, Banfield shows that all four classes are equally disgusting; one class causes the "urban crisis."

According to the author, a member of the upper class, the class most future-oriented, looks ever to the horizon planning for "the future of his children, grandchildren, great grandchildren...." Expressing concern for "the future of such abstract entities as the community, nation, or mankind...," he is confident he can "shape the future to accord with his purposes." Here the thoughtful reader will be reminded of the late Joseph P. Kennedy and his apparent purpose of transforming the American republic into a monarchy. Frankly I was reminded of John Lindsay, Lord Mayor of New York, whose "purpose" it seems is to turn New York into a grand rest and rehabilitation center for idealistic young revolutionaries (sort of the Havana of North America), and whose success would be at hand were it not for the idealism of what must be the finest young generation of hard hats in American history. Successively Banfield describes the less future-oriented middle class, a class that is conscious of the future and confident of its influence on it. Then, the working class which--though even less future-oriented and not likely to "invest as heavily in the future" --appears from Banfield's description the least disgusting. And finally Banfield describes the most disgusting class of all--the lower class which lives "from moment to moment," unconcerned about providing beyond immediate bodily needs, incapable of skilled or routine work, burdened with self-contempt, anti- social and often mentally ill. This is the class which provides the city most bountifully with its crimes and disorder. It is the source of the "urban crisis." Every time Banfield mentioned this lower class my mind beheld visions of David Brinkley and teeming tenement houses infested with network news commentators contributing to delinquency of every sort. In fact the life led by a member of the lower class is so chaotic, with a system of values so primitive and anomalous that Banfield considers members of all the other classes "normal" by comparison.

All other assertions in **The Unheavenly City** revolve about this axis. Urbanologists must understand the intransigence of present-oriented persons if they are ever to solve the urban crisis. Yet as most urbanologists come from future-oriented cultures, they cannot imagine its lifestyle and assuredly will not recognize it. Hence the urban planner will have very little success easing the urban crisis, and urban problems will probably be around for as long as the lower class multiplies and continues to set up office on street corners and sagging front porches.

Our cities have always contained persons of the lower class whose primitve lifestyles were never consonant with the majority's "future-oriented virtues of self-discipline and denial, industry, thrift, and respect for law and order." Tumult has always existed in the "squalid and vicious" neighborhoods (slums) of the lower class. But it is only recently with the continuing middle-class-ification of American life and its concomitant "elevation of standards" that the harshness of present-oriented lives has attracted so much flabbergasted concern.

Now concern for one's fellow man is admirable and even socially necessary, but we should not confuse concern with wisdom much less with virtue. Often those who pour forth most profusely on urban problems are pathological reformers and political mountebanks. The solving of urban problems depends first on sound analysis and then on the capacity to act on that analysis. As earlier implied, Banfield finds the contemporary analysis of urban problems invalid and often arrantly tendentious. Neglecting the significance of the urban population's cultural differences, most analysts fail to account for the three "conceptual distinctions" characteristic of the lower class which Banfield calls: cognitive, situational and volitional.

Cognitively present-oriented persons lack even the concepts by which people anticipate or prepare for a future. Such persons are not only psychologically unable to conceive a future but are also incapable of controlling their impulses. On the other hand a situationally present-oriented person can control his impulses and conceive the future, but he feels his present **situation** renders investment in the future unprofitable or impossible. A **volitionally** present-oriented person is disciplined, able to conceive a future, and lives in a situation where investment in the future strikes him as both possible and profitable. Nonetheless he prefers the present-oriented life. On the streets

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present-oriented persons generally mix these three analytical classifications, making the task of the urban planner about as feasible as that of Sisyphus. In fact Banfield feels that the more ambitious urban planners have undertaken a labor unto eternity, for "so long as the city contains a sizable lower class, nothing basic can be done about its most serious problems. Good jobs may be provided for all, still some will remain chronically unemployed. Slums may be demolished, but if the housing that replaces them is occupied by the lower class it will shortly be turned into new slums." Misery will endure the increase of welfare payments or the cunning of the negative income tax, and ignorance will prove immune to the most advanced educational concepts. Violence will exist amidst whole armies of of armored gendarmes.

The real tragedy is that the working-class people (the people intent on providing a future for their families) must--often due to racial prejudice or misfortune--live in fear in neighborhoods shared with the lower class. Apparently the present-oriented you always have with you. Our only hope lies in Mrs. Robinson, Mr. Jones and the continued "middle-class-ification" of America.

Great American Series

It has been the unfortunate weakness of both liberalism and liberal Christianity that they have easily degenerated into sentimentality by refusing to contemplate the tragic aspects of human existence honestly.

Reinhold Niebuhr

And what of the "massive programs," the "dream cities," and the grand strategies of Washington's urban planners? Well as the saying goes, you cannot build a highrise Utopia on faulty analysis. Stating at the outset that most analyses of the urban problem are unsound, it should surprise no one that Banfield considers our present programs ineffective. But the irrepressible Banfield goes further, insisting that the present programs actually exacerbate urban problems and contribute to the urban crisis. Minimum wage laws force low productivity and unskilled labor out of work. Unions which coerce business to employ low-producing labor at more than it is worth cause diminution of job opportunities for unskilled labor. Local, state and federal agencies which -driven by ideology--set "enlightened wage policies," pay labor more than it is worth thereby attracting skilled labor and prempting unskilled labor from simple jobs--often the only jobs an unskilled laborer is capable of holding. Utimately all that these programs harvest is inflation, unemployment, unbalanced markets and unrest.

Even our educational programs are more likely to produce urban problems than to eliminate them. Banfield feels that educators must distinguish between intractable, present-oriented students and normal students. When students lack motivation to learn they are as likely to learn as a snake is to strut. Motivation to learn is not characteristic of the lower-class student, and he is less educable than is his classmate of another culture. Sociologists have found that education "does not liberate the child from his class culture but instead confines him in it more securely." Thus in slum schools where lower-class children (often blacks) are, until age sixteen, meaninglessly incarcerated with the more future-oriented working-class students, the lower-class students grow frustrated, psychologically isolated, and--in spite of education's reputed magic--they become nuisances to serious students, ultimately becoming social problems.

And there are other programs which usher in more problems than they resolve. Urban renewal, designed to create cheap housing, has created the cheapest housing of all--no housing. For though urban renewal is wondrously efficient at bulldozing housing, it has not been very provident in replacing that housing, and what housing it does replace is inevitably more expensive. Then too the FHA, the VA and the highway construction program have aggravated urban problems, making the life of the poor just that much more unpleasant. If the demogogic politicians who thunder about hungry children would attempt to understand the peculiar kind of poverty existing in our cities, some progress might be made. But this is unlikely. The Americans who once loved a circus now love a crisis. Nowadays it is almost impossible to discern which "crisis" is a crucial turning point for society and which is merely another opportunity to sell more newspapers, peddle more moonshine and stick one's snout into another man's business.

Consider the "drop-out crisis" which Banfield alludes to but does not elaborate on. In 1900 almost everyone "dropped out" of school, yet no one considered it a crisis. In the sixties the majority of boys and girls graduated from high school; almost everyone received some high school education. Throughout the sixties the situation continued to improve while every newspaper in the land roared luridly about the "drop-out crisis." So we fashioned all ilk of programs to meet the drop-out crisis and are finally turning the corner on it, filling the high schools with every species of scoundrel and jackass, and behold now we are told America is in the dawn of a new crisis-- "Crisis in Our High Schools."

Banfield stresses that Americans have always had to fuss about one thing or another. If they are not making the world safe for democracy they are prohibiting ardent spirits, fashioning world governments, begetting a nation of saints or attempting to legislate away Original Sin. Banfield plots America's obsession to "do good"back to its origins in the upper class's service mentality. These are the persons who originally relieved their anxieties by reforming penitentiaries and laughing farms, and who now wish to initiate the censorship of breadfast cereal packages while plunging into the urban crisis by sipping cocktails with idealistic Black Panthers. As Banfield cogently argues, this obsession to "do good" often does "bad" at everyone's expense.

In the case of the cities the upper-class do-gooders will be doing it for years to come. Every conservative should read Banfield's book as a program for urban chaos. And if you are unable to arrest the bungling progress of your do-gooder neighbor, well read Banfield again, pull up your chairs and devour the show. Our urban crisis will be with us for several more seasons and Banfield knows its plot thoroughly.

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

R. Emmett Tyrell, Jr. is an itinerant golf caddy and political editor of THE NATIONAL TATTLER. He has recently written a long, dreary essay published in some book called Youth Manifesto *(Macmillan).*

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The Sham of the Cities

Toward a National Urban Policy

edited by Daniel P. Moynihan

Basic Books, $7.95

Now as the responsible editor that I am, I must caution my fellow students against leaping impulsively into Banfield. Bearing in mind the warm bath of platitude and fatuity which our professors have prepared for the discussion of social problems, an unconditioned reading of Banfield would be like a reckless plunge into icewater--it could place a perilous strain on one's system. Thankfully, **Toward a National Urban Policy**, edited by Daniel P. Moynihan, will acclimate students for Banfield.

It is an admirable collection of essays embracing every aspect of urban life. Population trends, housing, crime and the problems of local government are but some of the subjects discussed in the book's twenty-five essays--though not all the essays are of symmetrical quality, and some are redundant.

There is the ever-engaging Mr. Moynihan, who writes poignantly about the hysterical rhetoric of "crisis," and the lingering "Themes in Urban Experience" of violence, migration, wealth (relatively speaking, everyone's), mobility, intellectual disdain and ugliness. Moynihan discusses the ambiguous patrimony of technology, which brings us more rapid personal transportation, more comfortable housing, dilated opportunity...pollution. Sounding--in his preliminary essay--many of Banfield's contentions, Moynihan disagrees with Banfield on others. He exhorts Americans to develop a "national urban policy," for "ought not the vast efforts to control the situation of the present, be at least informed by some sense of goals for the future?" As always Moynihan is provocative.

Another first-rate essay in this collection is that of James Q. Wilson, whose clinical analysis of urban crime will both silence the shrieks of those crime fighters whose comfort depends on evermore lush governmental subsidies, and agonize the thalidomide intellectuals, who from their sanctuaries at Berkeley or Ann Arbor or his own Harvard, are eternally confusing the criminal with the criminal's victim and playing make-believe with the lives of urban folk. Wilson's essay is a masterful composition of profundity and compactness, eloquence and good sense. He is about the soundest student of urban crime and crime prevention writing from the campuses today. And if you doubt my claims to his intelligence, I refer you to **The New York Review of Books**, 5 November 1970, where his latest book (**Varieties of Police Behavior**, Atheneum) brought tears to the eyes and water to the pen of that iron-jowled realist, Mr. Murray Kempton.

As always Nathan Glazer and Martin Meyerson are thoughtful and engaging. But as I said at the outset, this collection has just enough **cool** revisionist thought to stimulate serious students, while its discussion of poverty, education, racism and economics is warmed by the familiar academic nonsense which suffuses so many classrooms and editorial tabernacles these days.

Take Lee Rainwater's essay, "Poverty in the United States." In discussing the reality of American poverty, he admirably refrains from **The New Republic** editorialists' technique of going for the reader's funny bone, and instead intelligently concludes that "what is called poverty in the United States is a relative matter--relative to time and place and how well off the rest of the population is--and not a question of some absolute level of subsistence..." which is to say that contrary to the fabulists of poverty, American poverty is a matter of relative deprivation not destitution.

Further he **exonerates** American capitalism at least by implication in admitting that over the past twenty years the proportion of families who would be considered poor (in absolute terms) has been cut in half. When we lament poverty in America we are not--if we know what we are talking about--lamenting a social injustice; we are remarking on a social problem, or rather congeries of social problems. For what frustrates and perplexes the liberal and the Middle Americano is the lower-class individual's deviant behavior (crime, illegitimacy, disease). Clearly Rainwater knows what he is talking about. But the rub comes over what he is talking **for**. Rainwater's vision has fixed on The Solution to poverty, and as he leads us through his essay his discussion evolves into an argument, thence a screed. Rainwater realizes that the greatest problem with a poverty of relative deprivation is not that babies are suffering the distended bellies of the Ibo, but that "the poor and near poor (lower class) live a life somewhat separated from that of the stable working-and middle-class members of the society." The Solution to this separation is socioeconomic "Togetherness"--variously called, in lands across the sea, "socialism and communism." But supposedly everyone lives equally well. The only trouble is that some live a little more well, namely the politicians, bureaucrats and police. And the rest live less well; bureaucracy--as the Russian communists and the British socialists have proven--is ignominiously inefficient.

Now as the British are dismantling their socialistic contraptions and the crafty Russians are quietly switching over to free enterprise, proponents of socialism have a difficult task. And not surprisingly Rainwater's argument becomes a little tacky and even evasive towards the end. He asserts that studies during the Depression found that families in which the husband was not a stable wage earner showed a high incidence of desertion and divorce. Thus he concludes that impoverished families dissolve because of lack of income. Unfortunately more recent studies of slum life in New York discovered that when impoverished families enjoyed income accretions either from welfare or wages, the rate of desertion was even higher. Now I cannot believe Rainwater is unfamiliar with such studies. Rather the author--like the saints --has beheld a revelation (this time concerning poverty) and is duty-bound to convert us to his brand of swamp root. Unfortunately I fear poverty is more difficult than Rainwater's spirits would have us believe.

Another essay in this collection whose rhetoric will have a familiar smack is Mr. Robert Dentler's "The Challenge of Urban Education in the United States." Early in his essay Dentler states that some of the obstacles to better urban education have been bureaucracy and the inability of school systems to show tolerance for different approaches to teaching.

Several pages later Mr. Dentler spies the answer to improved education: that is, the "gradual emergence of a national coalition pressing for a system of education with relatively uniform standards of excellence but with a high tolerance for different approaches to teaching and learning," which is to say a bureaucracy which does not act like a bureaucracy. Oh well, perhaps Mr. Dentler will find his beautiful beast atop the snowy reaches of the Himalayas.

At any rate this collection will give you a glimpse of an enormously complicated network of problems. If nothing else it will give you an appreciation for the orneriness of urban problems and maybe a sympathy for those who have tried to deal with them in the past.

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

Mrs. Robinson in '72

The Real Majority

by

Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg

Coward-MacCann, $7.95

The election of 1970 was preceded by a number of interpretive works on the American electorate. Kevin Phillips articulated the conservative dream in **The Emerging Republican Majority**. Samuel Lubell updated his **Future of American Politics** with a **Crisis of Confidence**. Professor Galbraith asked us **Who needs the Democrats**, and proceeded to sketch his new majority several degrees left of the present national Democratic party. Finally, Richard Scammon, probably the country's foremost psychologist, combines with Ben Wattenberg to set up straight on what really is **The Real Majority**. It has been a remarkably influential book.

The central thesis of the book rests on the premise that if the President is able to wind down the war and relatively stablize the economy, Presidential elections throughout the coming decade will turn on the "social issue." First discovered by Goldwater and Wallace, the social issue is now the issue on which Middle America will vote, provided one candidate is on the "wrong" side. This social issue embraces drugs, demonstrations, pornography, riots, "kidlash" and crimes. The authors hold that voters will not tolerate a "liberal" on these issues, and will vote against soft candidates--a truth amply demonstrated by Daley in Chicago, Maier in Milwaukee and most notably Stenvig in Minneapolis and Yorty in Los Angeles.

The **Real Majority** we are told is "in

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the center of American politics". The authors cite polls which demonstrate conclusively that this center of American politics today wants tougher administrators on campus, a crackdown on crime, pornography and drugs. They admonish their party, "it is the judgement of the authors that the matter in which the Democratic party handles the Social Issue will largely determine how potent a political force the party will be in America in the years to come".

At the same time that Americans are issuing non-negotiable demands on the social issue, the authors conclude that the **Real Majority** clearly favors Medicare, aid to cities, anti-poverty efforts, aid to education and other issues traditionally defined as "liberal." The apparent dichotomy is explained: "the attitudinal center of American politics today involves progressiveism on economic issues and toughness on the 'Social Issue.' " And, as an all pervading corollary, "The party that can hold this center will win the Presidency"!

In a broader context, the author's keep hammering away at certain myths which have become the prevailing wisdom on college campuses. For one, they dismiss the idea that a coalition of the young, the poor, the black and the intellectuals can put together a winning coalition. Rather they see this as a prescription for electoral disaster. Instead they describe the typical American voter (70% of us) as unyoung, unblack, unpoor, and unintellectual, though certainly not stupid. "The average voter is a 47 year old housewife from Dayton, Ohio whose brother-in-law is a cop and who is herself married to a machinist."

They also point out that the popular notion of Robert Kennedy's victory in Gary, uniting hard hats and blacks and thus making him a formidable candidate in a general election, is false. What is formidable is their documentation by polls and precinct data contesting this thesis.

The impact of this book, however, has already been felt far beyond the borders of this review. The scramble of liberal Democrats like Adlai Stevenson (who called Daley's cops storm-troopers in blue and then played for 70% of their votes) to get back to center ground is a lesson to all of us in practical politics. To get elected one must go where the votes are and as Vance Hartke discovered, Indiana wouldn't follow him down his primrose path to permissiveness and retreat. So, around the first of May he started edging toward the center. An American flag appeared on his lapel. He became concerned about that machinist's wife and worried about crime instead of the criminal for a change. He started to "talk tough" after eleven years of voting soft. Then, feeling that the "social issue" was neutralized, he began to run against Nixon's economic policies, a safe stance for any candidate in Indiana this year.

Such rapid movement while setting many track records, was partially successful. The Nixon administration's slogan-deep approach to the same problems left too many liberal Democrats in undeserved good health. The litany of narrow "social issue" slogans showed no awareness of the broader malaise. Besides its largely unsuccessful venture, to project a positive law and order image, the administration articulated anti-middle-American stands on expanded welfare and suburb busting. It also showed little awareness of the need to demonstrate economic empathy and concern for the machinist's wife who fears her husband may be laid off work. Thus, the issues of 1970 campaign were blurred. Personally, I consider the author's claim--that though the American electorate is upset about crime, pornography and drugs, it will accept liberal economic programming-- as rather shallow. Permissiveness, anarchy and amorality did not, after all, come out of thin air. Their emergence has a distinct relationship to the ideology of the sixties. If Republicans would articulate this relationship, liberal Democrats like Hartke and Stevenson would not be allowed to escape their due simply by donning police uniforms, and Ed Muskie would not be allowed to say, as he did on election eve, "We are all against violence and crime . . . so you see there is no "issue."

The media-tinged ads of conservative candidates this year did not try to articulate philosophical strengths. Somehow people were thought to just "know" that the radic-libs were to blame for much of the social unrest. It didn't work, as the election results showed. Perhaps Republicans were following Scammon too closely. For, their "social issue" is too simplistic, too divorced from economics to really be effectively interpreted. In truth, the middle segment of the American population feels itself attacked from every direction. The erosion of traditional values and respect for authority, the decline of patriotism, the rise in welfarism (instead of taxing the few to help the many as the New Deal did, we are now taxing the many to help the few) the attack on neighborhoods by the "intellectual" social planners and the lack of establishment concern for the average worker's job security and economic well-being, are all part of a more broad "socio-economic issue." Thus, this estrangement from government goes far beyond softness on crime.

Congressman Bill Cramer ran a hard-line law and order campaign in Florida, but was beaten by an unknown who cut beneath the slogans, walked the length of the state talking with troubled Floridians about their problems, and voiced concern over the broader "socio-economic" issue, not just the narrower "tough on crime" approach recommended by Messrs. Scammon and Wattenberg.

Finally, the election results can hardly be interpreted as a liberal left resurgence. Remember that even Hartke was getting tough on crime. Thus, the political center was shifted a bit to the right as the liberals moved toward more hard-line stands. This phenomenon, in itself, is a victory over the radic-libs. The **Real Majority** is still waiting to be found. The authors vainly attempt to tie it up in a "social issue" which can be neutralized by tough talk, and then let economics and personalities predominate. But, as the authors suggest, "the average voter is not stupid."

We conservatives are not helping ourselves by becoming entangled in the web of social confusion. The materialism, permissiveness and economic precursors to the social unrest of the seventies, should not be forgotten. We cannot afford to let it be in 1972 when the stakes will be much highter than there were in 1970. Perhaps by then the **Real Majority** will have been provided a substantive program instead of "tough talk" for their malaise.

Tom Davis

Tom Davis is a senior at Amherst. He recently served on Harry Dent's staff in Mr. Nixon's White House.

Death and Transcription

The Assassination of John F. Kennedy: The Reasons Why

by Albert H. Newman
Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., $10.00

How many times did we read or hear it? Oswald was a nut who was driven to assassinate Kennedy by the climate of hate in the South. Or, Oswald was an irrational man; who else would first try to assassinate General Walker (a right-wing extremist) and then kill Kennedy? Yet, in fact, a few days after the assassination, it was known that Oswald had close ties with Marxism and Cuba. But your friendly next door liberal would claim that Oswald was mentally deranged because he tried to assassinate two such different people. However, at last there is some solid material to answer the myths.

In The Assassination of John F. Kennedy: The Reasons Why, Mr. Newman has shown that Oswald, far from being irrational or a nut, was a capable man devoted to an ideology. He assassinated Kennedy, shot at General Walker, and once threatened Richard Nixon (three men of very different politics), because they all shared a hard-line position on Cuba. Mr. Newman also gives a reasonable explanation for the Tippit shooting. His theory is that Oswald planned to assassinate Walker right after Kennedy. He went home to get a gun and was in fact waiting for a bus to the Central Transfer Point (from which he could board another bus taking him within a block and a half of General Walker's home), when Tippit accosted him and was shot.

Over half the book is a chronology of Oswald from 1959 until his death. While this is certainly interesting, it is, I think, somewhat out of balance with the first and last parts of the book, inasmuch as the chronology here is so detailed as to be of concern only to an expert.

In the last section of the book Mr. Newman analyzes the complexities of the assassination itself. He offers many theories, in addition to giving the key testimonies of the eye-witnesses. Their testimonies conflict violently at times, especially as to the number of shots fired. Mr. Newman himself subscribes to the "one-bullet" theory--that is, one bullet hit Kennedy and Connolly; a second bullet hit Kennedy alone, and a third one missed. But he adds a new wrinkle: he believes the

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third bullet was fired after the motorcade sped up, when the sirens were on. While many people said they heard three shots, the most self-possessed, Hill, the security guard who saved Mrs. Kennedy, heard only two; yet three bullets had been fired from Oswald's rifle. If the third shot came after the sirens were turned on, neither Hill nor anyone else could have heard it. The witnesses who testified to hearing three shots before the sirens were turned on, could well have heard a backfire or an echo or have been confused as to the number of shots during those hectic few seconds. Mr. Newman does, however, make it clear that he could be wrong on this point, a concession he does not make in regard to his analysis of Oswald's motivations for the assassination.

The exact sequence of events that day in Dallas will never be known because there is too much information. The false can never be weeded from the true. And, in that respect, this assassination is not unique. Has there ever been a sudden and violent occurrence of this type where all the witnesses have agreed on what happened?

Whie Mr. Newman has given conclusive evidence that Oswald was a Marxist driven by a love for Cuba, and while he also gives a very plausible explanation of Oswald's killing of Tippit, he proves a lack of conspiracy only by lack of evidence. That is, if there was a conspiracy and more than one man shot at Kennedy, not only would the conspiracy have been covered up in a brilliant manner, but also the extra bullets would have been "hidden." Yet there probably will always be that lingering doubt--maybe Oswald did have help.

Aside from the facts he has established beyond doubt, Mr. Newman has also laid serviceable foundations for many other theses. For any serious student of the Kennedy assassination his book is a must--and for conservatives who have long been pestered by the "climate of hate" theory, it is also a joy. ***Eugene B. Meyer***

Eugene B. Meyer is a high school student from glorious Woodstock, New York.

The Bootblack Stand

Dr. George Washington Plunkitt, our prize-winning political analyst, has just completed a penetrating study of the last Congolese election. Published in August, it focuses on the unique position of minority groups in the Congolese electoral process; it can be purchased in all bookstores. It is titled **Escape! A New Demand Response System.** Now, the distinguished Dr. Plunkitt has agreed to, through this column, advise American statesmen in this time of troubles. Address all correspondence to The Bootblack Stand, c/ o The Establishment, R.R. 11, Box 360, Bloomington, Indiana, 47401, Continental U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Plunkitt:

According to the NEW YORK TIMES I am "off and running" for the presidency of the United States of America, a country for which I have always had deep respect and high admiration. Indeed I would like to serve the great people of that great nation as their president. The problem is that -- like the Kennedys -- I was educated at an Eastern school (Purdue University) and am not familiar with the Americanism off and running. How does one go off and running?

Birch Bayh, Senator

Dear Senator Bayh:

How nice of you to write! Do not concern yourself about the first half of this Americanism. I have diligently examined your record and let me assure you that you are more than a little "off." As for the "running," drink vast quantities of prune juice chased down by a glass of warm beer. For breakfast and dinner I advise several bowls of chile con carne and for lunch apple pie and cider. If you follow this diet regularly you will not only be considerably off but you will be running. My best to your wife Marvela.

GWP

Dear Mr. Plunkitt:

In my unending strivances to keep Georgia, the Peach State, abosomed of the rest of the nation, I have summoned members of my staff to regularly read the great gazettes of the land even the bolshevist papers of the Liberal northeast. According to my staff these papers have now conspired to give the American people the impression that I am anti-nigra. How can I correct this false image?

Sincerely,
Lester Maddox
Governor of Georgia

Dear Governor Maddox Sir:

How fortunate that your letter got here safely. My postman is a gentleman of southern European extraction whose middle name is Stannous Fluoride. If there was ever a Red this is the man! I would have expected him to purloin your letter thus protecting the columnious rumor that you cannot write.

In reply to your letter, be simple, straightforward and covert. Call a press conference announcing your intention to publicly dine with a large party of Negroes. There is, among our black brethren, a public spirited organization formed for just this purpose. For further information telephone or have the scholar on your staff telephone a Mr. Brother Huey P. Newton, Black Panther Headquarters, Berkeley, California (zip code 94712). And for a restaurant I suggest a charming little place in New York's elegant Harlem section called, I believe, The Pig and Whistle.

If this does not suit your purposes I am reminded of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge's efforts at the turn of the century to endear himself with his Irish constituents. The Boston Irish were great baseball players, and Senator Lodge would often join them in a game, allowing himself to be photographed by the press. This is a lesson of history which it would behoove you to manipulate. I suggest you invite a leading black athlete to play with you publicly. Give Mr. Muhammad Ali a call.

GWP

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Valparaiso, Indiana

Letters

To the Editor:

It is with pleasure that we have been unable to locate evidence of the "Reflex Defense Syndrome" in the issues of **The Alternative.**

Speaking specifically of the mass media, vis-a-vis the Charles Manson trial, we have been deluged with "justifications" by the oral, visual and printed press of their coverage to date of the grisly but somewhat dated events in that Southern California courtroom.

Our media seem to have originally enjoyed (and prospered from) glorifying Manson and associating his conduct with that of some ill-defined but oppressed "youth " group. Subsequently, under fire from President Nixon, Vice President Agnew and some allegedly right-of-center spokesman, the news media reacted with screams of "freedom of the press" and "press censorship." The reaction by the press appeared to me--as a lay-psychologist--to be an over reaction based on its own awareness of its improper exposure of an attitude towards the Manson case. It is my strong feeling that this treatment of the Manson matter is simply one more in a long string of distorted emphases by the media upon events of relatively short-term importance.

From where I sit, while the unfortunate deaths in California were dramatic manifestations of basic weaknesses in our contemporary socio-morality, there are certainly today other manifestations which are far more serious and of much greater range in their effects. This is exemplified by acceptance without protest by the bulk of Americans of the use of a New Criteria for the selection of Supreme Court Justices. Specifically, in the nominations and subsequent rejections of Judges Clement Haynesworth and Harold Carswell, we saw the abandonment of judicial expertise and individual independence as selection touchstones, and the substitution of "social philosophy" and "pressure group sensitivity" as new guidelines for weighing the caliber of Supreme court nominess.

This "story" concerning the fundamental change in procedure of selecting members of the Supreme Court was given little attention by the press, once its screams of "anti-labor" and "anti-Negro" had faded into obscurity.

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Nevertheless, the rejection of these two eminently qualified jurists represents the adoption of standards for selecting Supreme Court nominees that will insure that only men partial to enforced socio-governmental change sit on the Supreme Court. This, in turn, will undoubtedly insure enforced social revolution.

Yet this overwhelmingly significant development has been largely ignored by the media in favor of their treatment of items such as the apparent murders in Southern California.

It was reassuring to find **The Alternative** advancing no positions on "sensational" issues which would have spurred it to expose a "Reflex Defense Syndrome." Rather, **The Alternative** is to be commended for its perspective and courage in focusing its articles on matters of genuine concern to our citizenry.

Very truly yours,
Jerry W. Gerde
Panama City, Florida

To the Editor:

It may appear brash to you, but as I am used to making my feelings known, I feel it my duty to make you aware of my position. I feel that to introduce a "Letters to the Editor" column into **The Alternative** would strongly degrade the once fine quality of the magazine. The column is totally useless, and does not succeed in fulfilling its purpose, which is to present intelligent criticisms condemning the magazine. I feel it would be a shameful loss for a unique magazine like yours to follow the trend of other popular literature by introducing a "Letters to the Editor" department, a commercial, irrelevant and totally useless column.

Sincerely yours,
Elizabeth Kristol
New York, New York

As a recipient of the Philip Freneau Award, I would like to thank you for an excellent magazine; keep up the good work. I wish you really believed what you wrote. There just aren't any straight people left in the world.

"THE BROTHERHOOD"
Lambda Chi
Marietta, Ohio

Editor's note: The above was received on a folded, spindled and mutilated IBM card.

To the Editor:

If you'd cut out the cursing and the name-calling, you'd have an excellent magazine!

But guess that would be "censorship," huh?

A Reader

To the Editor:

Analyzing the antics of today's "youthful dissenters," I'm struck by the similarity between them and another group of "*youthful dissenters*" *who were* making headlines and wreaking destruction in another part of the world some thirty years ago.

Crude peace symbols painted on building walls and street surfaces awaken memories of ugly swastikas adorning walls and doors in Germany. Destruction of university buildings and hordes of wild-eyed youth pillaging stores and running amok in the streets remind one of the early days of Hitler's youth, and the horrible acts of destruction they wrought.

The jeers, interruptions and stoning of politicians and other speakers were as common a tactic then as they are today. Permissiveness, free love and disapproval of the "system" were strong factors in the growth of that ugly element then, also.

And there were the blind followers who backed out when things seemed to get out of hand then, too. But it was too late, for the cancer had already taken root and the consequences were soon to be felt throughout the world.

Yet, the most ironic comparison can be made with the names chosen by both elements: then--storm troopers; now--weathermen.

I wonder, is this just conincidence or does history really repeat itself? Continue your fight and good luck.

Regards,
D. J. Fitzgerald
Miami, Florida

Dear Bobby:

I buy you fine clothes. I send you to a fine school. And how do you show your appreciation? You bring home this rag. Why don't you get a job like other boys your age?

Mother

CAMPAIGN '70
(continued from page 2)

same reasons Italians pinch women: it is exciting, amusing and instructive. And what is more, its pursuit is serious business. Yet my friends engaged in the traffic of ardent spirits inform me that though during election campaigns American saloons are always crowded-sales are inevitably down, for no man wishes to befog himself and miss one blundering moment of the politicoes' performance. The virtuoso American politician has always managed to present a noble visage as a cover for great vacuity and sincerity as the brand name for a kind of stupidity that is perfection itself. Surely Bagehot's mind had fixed on the American politician when he arrestingly described the constitutional statesman: "a nature at once active and facile, easily acquiring opinions from without, not easily devising them from within, a large placid adaptive intellect...." -but Bagehot was too serious. Our aspiring Churchills are merely amusing gasbags made the more entertaining when their arcanums bring together--as in this last election--the pedestrian and the peculiar, the esteemable and the abominable. Every intelligent American devoured the feast realizing that nothing sensible would ever come of it, although fearing the very real possibility that the new batch of elected messiahs might actually deepen our vail of tears.

But at The Alternative the merriment of democratic America does not end with Walter Cronkite's fall spectacular on election night. No, our interest surges right up to the *assemblee* of the fabled Saturday Evening Club when all our jolly boys congregate, uncork a jug, compare memoranda and ascertain which campaigning clown was indeed the biggest liar. This year the competition has been furious. And our awards banquet might have to recognize a new category of liar, for as the "news analyses" accumulate it becomes apparent that the fishy politicians are receiving superb competition from the yarn-spinning media.

For myself, I shall have a difficult time adjudging but one dissembling candidate as supreme, for several first-rate perjurers commend themselves. For instance the Rt. Hon. Rupert Vance Hartke, Edward (Teddy) Kennedy, Pug Tunney and Congressman Passwater from Louisiana. All these men are weavers of words who reinforce their truisms with the highest quality elastic. They never utter a syllable without first enjoining teams of psychologists to assay the constituency and its present state of gullibility. Their resulting performances convey--to intelligent observers--a good idea of the world of the acid head.

Senator Hartke's performance in the Hoosier state gave me the distinct feeling that he saw himself to be the candidate hand-picked by Robert Welch to deliver the Republic from Bolshevism. He even hired a liar by the name of R. Sargent Shriver to beguile voters with the tale that "Democrats traditionally hold down federal spending." And in the feudal state of Massachusetts where the watery-eyed citizenry skip and dance behind the banners of a family of immigrant potato farmers, the Hero of Chappaquiddick seemed to be casting about for the endorsement of Barry Goldwater and the American Conservative Union. Then from California Pug Tunney kept appearing before the tee vee cameras, imploring voters to remember the virtues of the pugilist, lecturing on the heroism required to face Jack Dempsey and all the while grinning down a daintily contructed China-like nose, exposing exquisite rows of pearly protruding teeth and...lying. Certainly Pug Tunney was as much a champion as were his colleagues. All were champions in the traditional American pastime of fabricating tall tales.

But connoiseurs of nonsense are not the only persons enthusiastic for American elections. Every political conservative I know cherishes election time as his favorite time of year, for during the electoral season America is transformed into the most conservative nation on earth. The politicians' speeches are an inspiration, and their voting records are a relief. Hardly an election year has gone by in which the liberal ADA's congressional poll did not indicate America's return to the Robber Barons, and at the conservative ACU pollsters nearly short circuit themselves in joy. It is the kind of blessed phenomenon that would have sent staccato smirks across Calvin Coolidge's mask.

But this year mendacious politicians are finding their status jeopardized by the media. During the election things were not so bad; of course news reports abounded with inaccuracy and bias, but this generally derived from the uniformly primitive condition of American reportage. It was in their post-election anagogues that the pundits' deceit began

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to press politicoes. When--before the elections--reporters warned that administrations almost inevitably lose congressional strength in off-year elections and--after the elections--expressed utter dismay that Mr. Nixon did lose support we all suspected a worm. But then when we studied the election returns we saw a snake. (Actually the new Senate will be far more conservative with an only slightly less conservative House). Considering the vast number of newspapers, syndicates (both AP and UPI carried the line) and broadcasting companies who reported the "news analysis" it becomes obvious that we are being treated to a first-rate lie; one that both Republicans and Democrats would be proud to spread.

But one masterpiece was not enough and now the magnificoes of the media are unlimbering their forked tongues and laying such a barrage of humbug on the nation that politicians may come to be considered paragons of truth by comparison. Some high-flown fictions I have encountered of late are the following: A) the one about Republicans dumping their leading inspriation and fund raiser, Mr. Agnew; B) the tale that Senators Buckley and Byrd are G.O.P. rivals; C) that something the media calls "the southern strategy" failed; D) Mr. Nixon has transmuted into a dangerous conservative of the John C. Calhoun genre; E) campaign rhetoric set an American record for vilification; and of course F) Republicans used "fear tactics" and Democrats were more sporting.

As every perceptive follower of the campaign knows, the election changed hardly anything. Contrary to all the canards and falsehoods of the media Mr. Nixon will still be a strong presidential contestant in 1972.Today even with his loss of governorships he is far stronger than he was in November 1968, and in 1960 he won twenty-six states though Republicans held but eleven governorships. The present administration will be even stronger in 1972 if it learns from this election A) that at least in the Midwest you cannot beat nothing with nothing, B) that Republicans must revive the economy without inflating it, C) that they must run more beautiful candidates, D) that they must face issues (like inflation) and not try to Madison Avenuize them, E) the Administration must get out of Vietnam without letting the Vietcong get in, and most importantly, F) the Republicans must formulate a program informed by the philosophy of their constituency--that is to say that if their supporters are conservative, this Republican administration had better decide what that means.

Likewise the Democrats are in a strong position, and they will enhance that position by: A) developing effective alternative policies, B) acquiring spokesmen who are somewhat more competent than their present gaggle of parade leaders, C) continuing to immobilize Congress. But above all, both parties must promote more dramatic and alluring liars.

George Nathan □

Mr. Nathan is a Contemplative residing in Gethsemane, Kentucky.

Pop Students

I will do such things,/ What they are, yet I know not, but they shall be/ The terrors of the earth.

King Lear

If, like me, you are a *habitue* of the trendy Liberal press you will remember, from your readings throughout the summer, that in this past election the irenic students were going to give "the system one last chance." Hence 3 November was to be the dawn of a magnificent era, and from the American incursion into Cambodia--an operation which our press reported as if they were reporting the **Wehrmach's** Juggernaut across Poland--to the waning days of summer, **The New Republic** served as a weekly bulletin board for every imaginable new anti-administration organization. One week a list of peace candidates was featured, and the next week they editorialized on a couple of youthful swindlers' recent ventures into the peace industry--organizing groups at Princeton and Yale to pick the pockets of fellow students. At one point Mr. Erik Jannson of the renowned Association of Students for Voter Registration informed us of the conspiracy to disfranchize students in Orono, Maine, and at another point the editors listed "approved" candidates especially in need of those flashes of enlightenment which emanate from the immaculate bosoms of "the young."

The Nation's fabulists were more dramatic and no less instructive. Soon after their Cambodian trauma they cheerfully reported that "the young" (yes every single one of them) had "had it"--Kent State was their very own Pearl Harbor. In an editorial that must have ruined Mr. Nixon's afternoon at the ball park, they speculated on the ominous consequences that "The New Constituency" (voters eighteen to twenty years old) would have on the American Epic. And, in an editorial I found utterly treasurable, they rhapsodized on "the young's" benevolent invasion of Washington.

It was May, the cherry blossoms were exploding and an ocean of fresh young faces washed onto Capitol Hill. "The first goal of these young lobbyists is to win enough votes in the legislature to secure passage of what is known as the Amendment to End the War" -- it lost. And their next goal? Why nothing less than the salvation of America itself, but "this does not mean that students will be flooding the country in one election district after another this fall. (No! No! —ed.) They intend to be selective and mass their strength where it will do the most good. "That is to say that "the young" were going to concentrate on "...close contests such as Howard Metzenbaum's run for the Senate in Ohio, and Allard Lowenstein's re-election bid in New York."

And have you yet guessed why I placed this little editorial under my pillow? It is certainly not because on 3 November the good causes of Metzenbaum and One-Term Lowenstein went down in flames; as a journalist I stand above such mean partisanship. Rather it is because this editorial proves that **The Nation** still employs creative writers, perhaps even alcoholics. For it demands a mysterious kind of imagination to create the above fantasy and then to assert that "an invisible cord stretches from the polling booth to the marble walls of Congress and a good many of the country's politicians can already feel the weight of the young (sic) upon the line." Purest tommyrot!

Lamentably in spite of the acres of editorials written in praise and exhortation of "the young thousands," in spite of the Princeton Plan releasing many of "the young thousands" from academic assignments two weeks prior to elections, in spite of many faculties rescheduling tests or dismissing classes for "the young thousands," "the young thousands" never put in an appearance at campaign headquarters. Though **The New Republic** and **The Nation** dutifully informed their readers that the revolution was upon us, on the day of that revolution no one could quite roll out of bed. "The young thousands" were in a funk. Tsk, tsk, such a sad ending to an otherwise glorious season.

The veracity of my claim is easily

Did You Ever See a Dream Walking?

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documented. Much before election day, **The New York Times** reported the former chairman of Yale's Black Student Alliance as saying "I'm laying off politics for a while....I'm going to the football game," -- his remark was characteristic. In California Mr. Kimo McCormick, youth research man for Pug Tunney, expressed difficulty in attracting youthful campaigners because today young leftists will work only for what they consider "an ideal candidate." The national Unidex poll found that only fourteen percent of America's students intended to "actively participate" in political campaigns. And even at Princeton The Movement for a New Congress (**The New Republic's** favorite peace organization) estimated that only fifteen percent of the students were campaigning.

Why could not more of the young thousands bestir themselves to usher in **The New Republic's** Brave New World? What chained them to their beds of apathy. I suspect a melange of dark powers at work. Certainly it takes a multiplicity of factors to cause any social movement to fail to move after **The New Republic** has given the cue. Yet I will mention one fairly obvious cause.

It seems that "the young thousands" never did exist and that "the young" is a group far different from what the media and the certified intellectuals would have us believe. Every statistic I have ever seen indicates that the aspirations and life styles of the majority of young persons are similar to those of their parents.

But by the same token, I have never seen a television program, read a study or heard a public discussion on youth which did not fawn on the politically hypersensitive. Obviously the medias' portrayal of youth is an idiotic distortion. In America there are almost eight million college students training for a wide variety of vocational pursuits. Further the majority of college-age persons still have the good sense not to attend college. Of those young who are over twenty-two and under thirty many have exposed themselves to the ignominy of taking gainful employment. And as for the high school and grammar school student, it is only the odd fish who ever shows any interest whatsoever in the mysteries of youthful idealism or politics. Anyone attempting to characterize the young is adrift in a most dubious venture, and it surprises me not at all that those so given to such ventures are invariably intellectuals and gossips.

What these wowsers have done is obvious. They hold a highly ideologized vision of how the world should turn, and they never neglect an opportunity to influence others towards viewing the world in their terms. Now the average gringo is too smart for them, and he brushes them aside like dandruff off a collar. But in our society there are congeries of very anxious simpletons who are positively ravenous for praise and attention. The densest concentrations of these psychic gluttons are among the young, and America's wowsers feast on them. Thus the most ideological flights of fancy and the most violent action attract the media's sympathetic affections. A young oracle can be Schickelgruber reincarnated and so long as he threatens businessmen rather than ethnics and demands utopia rather than reality he is bound to be a headliner. What has happened is that the magnificoes of the media have fabricated a wonder student and rewarded any student conforming to their wonder world with instant fame and admiration. These pop students are of course the new conformists and they are often as mindless as they are victimized and as lazy as they are prostituted. The media can expect pop students to adhere to the media's standards only so long as these standards dictate no more than a simple style of dress, an easily regurgitated rhetoric and mischief. But the media should not expect their creations to get out of bed before noon, deodorize and unpretentiously go about the inglorious business of stuffing envelopes, disseminating literature and talking to unadoring voters--they are too idealistic.

This is not to say that all young people neglected the elections. As one Senator-elect said: "We've got more college kids coming in here than we know what to do with." His name is Buckley, and his young supporters? They are this decade's Lost Generation. They are the conservatives and the moderates. And it is the trendy Liberal press that seems to have lost them.

George Nathan

CONTINUING CRISIS
(continued from page 2)

As the school year progressed the symbiosis of these two offices (mental health and education) appeared more natural. The governor of Texas was prevented from speaking at the University of Houston. On 3 November he was overwhelmingly re-elected. In Huntingberg, West Virginia students protested police drug raids; they were gassed. On the campus of Oakland University police discovered a lavish dynamite cache. The University of Oregon curriculum offered "Frisbee Techniques and Special Application, 407;" for their diligence students will be rewarded with one credit. Judge Patrick J. Picariello ordered New York University to repay part of a student's tuition because "college administrators have yielded too easily to the demands of campus dissidents and have thereby ushered in an era of physical and intellectual intimidation." New York University promised to "protest" the decision. At Yale students took time from their studies for a rally honoring the Black Panthers. Prankish students wore Timothy Leary masks. And a reporter for the Gannett Newspapers was at the Yale undergraduate admissions office to report that "...a prospective student responding to a Yale interviewer's questions expressed his support of the Nixon Administration, of Vietnam, the ABM, the space program..." The student was berated loudly by the Yale official for his conservative political philosophy. Ending the interview on a Socratic theme, Kingman Brewster's warrior remarked to the student "I'd like to see you go to Vietnam and come home in a box and then see how strong your support for Vietnam is."

Bernadine Dohrn, perhaps the most comely member of the Weatherman faction of SDS, declared a "fall offensive" exhorting "families and tribes" to bomb and otherwise busy themselves with the politics of peace. The peace movement ran aground when 31 October was declared as the day for demonstrations against Mr. Nixon's Vietnam policy. It happened to be an autumnal Saturday. Though huge crowds assembled they inevitably chose to watch twenty-two athletes battle for a "pig skin" rather than participate in the typically more violent "peace" demonstrations. A British judge released Allen Farrant, the brilliant English student activist, who had been arrested in a cemetery with a flashlight, crucifix and cross. He had been "hunting vampires;" the repression builds.

And finally the Buckley family inflicted on New Yorkers, the most waggish practical joke in recent political history. Those Buckleys! □

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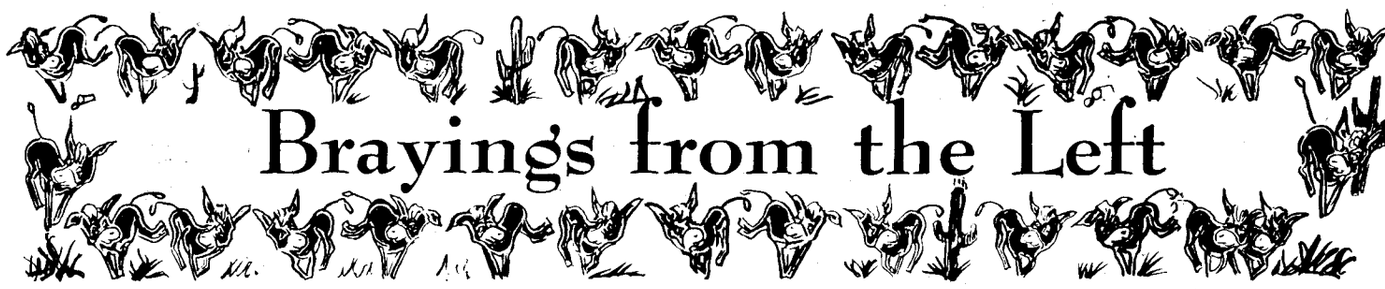

"Whom the gods destroy they first make mad." --Euripedes

THE NATION

Straightfaced description of the young political geniuses who make bombs and assure George Wallace his constituency by a fairy tale reporter at **The Nation** (subscription price $10 yearly):

> Radical activists tend to have sophisticated notions of political theory, strategy and tactics. Their outrage has been disciplined into organizational activity; they are typically too "rational" to become "adventurists."

DISSENT

One of Dissent's penthouse revolutionaries offers, from his armchair battleground, a little institutionalized hog slobber:

> ...I think, that narrow definitions of civil disobedience rule out certain sorts of unconventional yet non-revolutionary politics which should not be regarded as attacks on civil order. These may well involve both coercion and violence.

At **Dissent**--America's leading foreign language journal--a dark hour has arrived. Its readers might never again experience the adventure of reading Irving Howe in ninth century Uralic:

> We learn with regret of the sudden death of Isaac Langnas, for many years the chief translator for **Dissent.**

THE NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS

A rare revelation of utter stupidity regarding the tyranny which governs Fidel's island paradise as reported in the wonderful world of **The New York Review of Books:**

> One evening in Havana about three years ago I had dinner with Carlos Franqui, probably the leading Cuban journalist, to whom I was complaining rather vehemently about the low quality of the Cuban press. It was, I asserted, dull, sycophantic, and seemingly much more concerned with disseminating the official government viewpoint than with informing the Cuban public about the realities of their own society and the events and trends at work in the outside world. Never, I said, is there published the faintest criticism, constructive, or otherwise, of government programs, and rarely is there printed any other viewpoint than the official line on any subject. Cuba aspires to become a "revolutionary democracy," with full and direct participation of the masses, I said, but how can there by any true democracy in a society whose press does not even furnish the people the essential information needed to reach decisions on matters of vital concern to themselves? In fact, the Cuban press is so mediocre that even Fidel can't stand it.

A sartorial notice from the trendy **New York Review of Books:**

> The cops had to extract permission to wear little American flag pins on their uniforms, but now all sorts of serious, grim, suspicious citizens wear them.

An alarming example of repression and a surprising manifestation of anti-youth fervor from the super patriots of **The New York Review of Books:**

> A good American properly does not wear a flag, does not become a flag, does not tie one flag to another like a rag around his arm, does not substitute it for a crucifix or a mezuzah, does not rev it up with shiny little rhinestones.

JERRY RUBIN

One of the Academy's most sought after public speakers makes this cheerful prediction:

> The American school system will be ended in two years. We are going to bring it down. Quit being students. Become criminals. We have to disrupt every institution and break every law...
>
> Do you people want a diploma or to take this school over and use it for your own purposes?...It's quiet here now, but things are going to start again.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

Proof that--through the infamous Order of the Eagles--IT HAS HAPPENED HERE:

> Here is Jerris Leonard assistant attorney general in charge of the Civil Rights Division. That he had no emotional committment to the civil rights cause is indicated by his retaining membership in the all white Order of the Eagles.

Monstrous state of affairs dutifully reported by the heroic **New Republic:**

> The most depressing thing in Washington right now is a hole in the ground. It is an enormous excavation, three stories deep, a whole city block square, right on Pennsylvania Avenue. A building will rise there...This entire building will be taken over by the FBI. Not education, not health, not welfare: the FBI.

Lucid psychoanalytic enquiry by the insomniacs of the **New Republic:**

> Who is Richard Nixon? We keep wondering, we can't help it...The old anti-Communist Nixon nags at us, fretfully, in the watches of the night. Maybe he always will.

Astrology as practiced at **The New Republic:**

> Richard Nixon is going down in history all right, but not soon enough...

DR. CHET HUNTLEY

From one who has read all the Great Books, written many many profound treatises, even dabbled at Haiku, comes the sad assessment--Americans elected a President who is simply BLAH. Oh that I might never travel in his private plane!

> I've been with Nixon socially. I've traveled with him in his private plane; I've seen him under many conditions. The shallowness of the man overwhelms me; the fact that he is President frightens me.

That very same luminary reports on one of those esoteric tete-a-tetes in which he so delights:

> "I think I liked LBJ best. He was kind to me...I just kept filling his glass with Scotch and we talked about breeding Herefords."

THE NEW YORK TIMES'

The fiendish Nixon is found out by the sleuths at **The New York Times:**

> The President of the United States, in a maudlin personalization and simplification of complex political issues, makes war a test of his own and the nation's manhood...By this action President Nixon has calculatedly chosen to widen the division among the American people, to inflame instead of heal.

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